THE FRVITES OF long Experience.

A pleasing view for Peace.

A Looking-Glasse for Warre.

OR,

Call it what you list.

Discourſed betweene two Captaines.

By Barnabie Riche, *Gentleman.*

Malui me diuitem eſſe quam vocari.

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TO THE KINDE AND curteous Reader.

Vrteous Reader (if thou be curteous indeed) it is ſo much the better for me, for then I know my lines wil paſſe without reproofe: If thou be curious I care not, for Nature hath done much for me, ſhe hath giuē me ſhoulders, though not with Atlas *able to beare the heauens yet with* Marcus Cato, *able to endure any burthen that* Titus Gracchius *is able to loade me with.*

To auoyd Idleneſſe, I haue betaken me to write, and to make my ſelfe ſociable with the multitude, I haue mingled matters of importance, with matters of ſmall regarde: I know this is the humorous age, and although to reade ouer fewe things aduiſedly, profiteth, yet to runne through many things (though ſlightly) delighteth, and a man that can but tattle of this and that (though to little purpoſe) ſhall haue audience.

I know ſome wil ſay, that he which wil aduenture to ſpeake of many matters, may rather be tearmed venturous then learned: but I anſwere with that great Captain Manius, *who ſpeaking before the people of* Rome, *ſaid, If my words be not wel ſet together, I care not: ſo long as I know my meaning to be good and honeſt.*

Then

Then let Mænius *finde fault, and let* Boldunus *cauil, all is one to me, I will but turne the Buckle of my girdell a litle behind me, and then let any Ieſtmonger of them all, runne at me with his ſtrongeſt inuention, and he ſhall neuer hit me, whre he ſhall be able to hurt me.*

I will wade no farther in mine owne praiſe, becauſe I was neuer beholding to mine owne tongue: but as I know there are ſome that are too quicke of ſight, ſo there be ſome others that wil winke if they ſee a fault: I reuerence him, and do wiſh with all my heart, that this ſecond incounter betweene Captaine Skill *and Captaine* Pill, *might be as pleaſing vnto him, as I hope it wil be profitable to ſome others, that ſhall peruſe & ouerlooke it, with aduiſed iudgment.*

Barnabie Riche.

TO THE MOST WORTHY, the moſt vertuous and godly Prince *Henry*, by the grace of God, Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwell*, Earle of *Cheſter*, and heire apparant of the Realmes of *England*, *Scotland*, *France and Ireland*.

MOſt worthy & moſt renowned Prince, there is nothing more pleaſing to a ſpirit endued with knowledge, then *Truth* when ſhe is moſt bare and naked.

The pure Corall needes no colouring, and a good cauſe it ſelfe bringeth credit, it needeth not the help of Art.

The deceitful Phiſitian giueth pleaſant Syrropes, to make his poyſon to goe downe the ſmoother, and the ſweet ſongs of *Calipſo*, were but ſubtill ſnares to *Vliſſes*.

An oylie mouth may haue a gaulding minde, and it ſeemeth vnto me, that theſe profeſſors of Eloquence are to be ſuſpected, and their ſtraining of words and ſentences (as it were to ſet them on the Teynter) doth ſhewe the little plaine dealing that is within them.

Yet I would not ſeeme to take the Penne out of his hand that doth write of Eloquẽce, for that were as if a man ſhuld labour to take the lightning from *Iupiter*, or to ſeeke to bereaue the fire of his heate.

And Art (I know) is the Pilot in the ſea of wit: Art is the ſword to conquere Ignorance: and Art is the ſole directer when the worlde would erre. But yet to vſe ſuperfluous Eoquence, in a matter of ſufficient excellency, is a greater ſhew of a pregnant wit, then of a perfect wiſedome.

Now ſithens my abilitie ſerueth to no better purpoſe, then to ſet foorth in this kind of writing thoſe experiments which 40. yeares training in the warres hath taught me, I haue not vndertaken as a ſubtill Logitian, for I neuer learned thoſe places from whence arguments are drawne.

Thoſe haue need of artificial ſpeeches, who with pleaſing words do go about to couer diſhoneſt deeds.

The matters by me handled, I haue ſet downe plainly, I haue neither floriſhed them with Art, nor ſmoothed them with Flattery.

I haue graſped at abuſe: yet vnder generalities, not aiming at any one particularly, that hath not a guiltie conſcience to accuſe himſelfe, I haue winked at ſomewhat, leaſt I might ſeeme curious, and haue pretermitted neceſſities, in that they require matter paſſing my reach: neither doe I ſeeke heerein the praiſe of mine owne wit, but to declare the loue I beare to my Countrie, and the dutifull zeale I tender, (and withal humblenes I here preſent) to your excellēt highnes.

If my vnlettered diligence be gratiouſly accepted, I neither feare the ſpightfull eye of Enuie, neither yet the cenſure of any others in thoſe things, which I haue onely conſecrated to your gratious vewe.

I acknowldge mine owne vnworthineſſe, and I confeſſe my little skill and abilitie to performe, but it is a gratious acceptance, that incourageth me, for *I* aſſure my ſelfe, that a magnificent and princely minde cannot want in him that is deſcended from ſo magnificent and princely progenie: *Alexander* diſdained not to be praiſed by a Miller, and your grace (*I* hope) will accept the ſimple gift of a ſouldier.

The ſubiect is not altogether vnneceſſarie to be conſidered of, for it concerneth the affaires of warre, a knowledge behouefull for the greateſt Monarch, when a King is not ſo much renowned for his crowne, as for his courage and ſkill in the knowledge of armes.

For although all the gifies of Fortune are to be deſpiſed in reſpect of learning, yet in a Prince, there is nothing ſo glorious as to be called a great Captaine, or a worthy ſouldier.

Accept them (gratious Prince) as the earneſt penny of a faithfull heart, accept them and protect them from the malitious interpretour, accept them (with all humblenesſe *I* beſeech it) for his ſake, that with all loue and dutie will daily pray, that as you are knowne to be deſcended from a moſt royall and princely progenie, and to be the vndoubted full heire of your worthie fathers Crowne and Scepter, ſo you may growe in renowne & honour equall to your anceſtors, & may ſucceed your royall parents in their vertuous

Your Graces in all deuoted dutie and obedience, Barnabe Riche.

CAPTAINE PILL
in his humorous fit.

CAPTAINE SKIL
in his temperate iudgement.

Pill.

CAptaine Skill, and although in a late conference had betwéne vs, I vndertooke to speake of Robin Hood, when indéede I had neuer shot in his bowe, and presumed to dispute of martiall matters, before I had séene an enemies Tent: yet now hauing a little bettered my experience by some few yeares trayning in the warres, and haue had continuance in seuerall seruices, as well offensiue as defensiue, being now thus happily encountered, and time with opportunitie so well befitting the purpose, let me obtaine that by a kinde intreaty, that I know I cannot merit by any deseert, I come not to contend, nor to maintaine any cauiles, my desires is to learne, and although before I knew how to buckle on an Armour, I presumed of as much skill as might haue beseemed the great Captaine of Carthage, yet now experience hath taught me to know, that indeed I knowe nothing: And by this little continuance that I haue had in the Campe, I haue noted those absurdities in the Militia of these times, that I thinke may be easily spoken of, but not so quickly amended:

giue me leaue to relate them as they ſhall hit into my memorie, and let me intreate your opinion what you allowe, and what you miſlike.

Skill. Captaine Pill, the time that you tell me you haue ſpent in the campe, hath not bene ill imployed, for that I perceiue you haue profited much: I ſee it hath inlightened your vnderſtanding to know your owne imperfections, and there cannot be a more learned ignorance, then for a man to confeſſe his owne ignorance: now for the Militia of theſe times which you ſay is ſo confounded with abſurdities, I beleeue it to be true, but he that ſhould thinke to amend it by finding faulte, might do as Apelles prentiſe, who drawing of a picture, ſeeking to mende the noſe, marred the cheeke: you and I may talke of many abuſes, as it were by the way of communication, but I dare not attribut any ſuch ſingularity to my ſelf as to giue any cenſure, yet vpon the requeſt you haue made, of any thing it ſhall like you to demaunde, I am contented to aduenture my opinion, but not to ſet downe precepts.

Pill. Why then Captaine Skill I will proceede: but here now I ſhould keepe a good Decorum, eſpecially in Method, but that is looked for from Scholliers, and not from Soldiers, and I haue learned the farther off from art, the more Souldierlike: then mount you vp my thoughts, yet raiſe your ſelues with reuerence, ſo as you neither do Minerua wrong, nor care what Momus can obiect.

Now before I ſpeake of defects, I will firſt beginne with warre it ſelfe, that I thinke cannot be managed but with diſorder, whoſe beſt fruites are ſo inormious, that it hath bene had in queſtion, and many times diſputed on, whether warre may be approued to be either good or lawfull, before the ſeate and Maieſtie of God?

Skill. I take thoſe men that will moue ſuch doubts, to be vtterly ignorant alſwell in the hiſtory of the Scriptures, as in the ſtate of a happy Common-wealth, for he that taught Dauid to ſing, Bleſſed be the Lord my ſtrength, which teacheth my hands to make warre, and my fingers to fight, had likewiſe willed Moyſes long before to make warre vpon the Medianites, & that by an expreſſe commandement, and Abraham the

father

father of the faithful, made no scruple to enter into armes himselfe and his houshold to recouer his brother Lot.

Pill. But some will say the ruines and spoiles committed in the warres are to be lamented, and the cities that are sackt, spoyld, and left desolate, can best witnesse the truite.

Skill. See Saul, first annointed King, appointed to leade the children of Israel, the spirite of God commeth vpon him, he Prophesieth amongst the Seers, and after all this, behold him againe vtterly forsaken of God, but for reseruing a part of the praye that he had taken from the Amalichites.

Pill. But what excuse for the great effusion of blood? or is it not a horrour to thinke of the murthers & slaughters made by men vpon men in the furie and heat of warre?

Skill. I will referre this to the noble Iosua, who being in the pursuite of his enemies, and fearing that the day had bene too short, commaunded the Sunne to neglect his accustomed course, and to stay her selfe in the middle of the heauen, till he had performed his slaughter to the full.

Pill. Why then to spoile and kill an enemy we see the warrant is good, but there be some that will make difficulties, and then they will distinguish betweene ambitious warre, & warre that is but defensiue, and almost they will admit of no warre at all to be lawfull.

Skil. Warre is to be vndertaken but to the end to haue peace, and for matters in clayme, in defence of libertie, and such other like, aswell the lawes of nature as the lawes of nations doth admit it.

For these distinctions I will leaue them to Diuines, but warre is euermore attended on by Sword, Fyre, Famine, and Murther: the sinnes of the people is it that giueth the first Alarom, and vnsheatheth the souldiers sword, and warre hauing once displayed his Banner, it is the iustice of the cause that approueth it eyther to be good or bad.

But yet the obtaining of a victory is not a sure confirmation of this right & equity, for when the children of Israel were gathered together in Silo, to punish the shamefull sodometry of the tribe of Beniamin, they lost in two seuerall battells 40000.

men: notwithstanding they had a iust cause, and fought both the times by the appointment and commaundement of God.

By warre to subdue a forraine foe, the conquest is glorious, but in ciuill warre there is nothing more miserable then victorie.

The practise and knowledge of Armes, hath euer béne carefully indeauoured in all ages, and in euery well gouerned Common-wealth, when by it Empires haue béne attained, Kingdomes inlarged, the straights of Pontus hath béene opened, and the inclosures of the Alpes broken vp.

By it Princes are protected, Iustice is maintained, good lawes preserued, and the Common-wealth defended.

Great is the knowledge of Armes therefore, and there is nothing more necessary, immediatly after the knowledge of God, then to knowe how to mannage our martiall causes, and as in euery action it is odious to erre, so in warres it is most daungerous of all other, because that one mistaking is ynough to ouerthrowe a whole Armie, whereon might depend the wracke of a Common-wealth, and the fall of a Princes Crowne.

Warre and the Soule communicates in this, that both of them are in their simple natures hardly found out, but are duly desined by their effects.

Nothing waxeth young in this world but warre, neyther hath arte euer sought out a subiect more ambiguous, for with the Camelion it changeth according to the obiect, and like an impossible infinit in nature, carrieth his euents beyond the reache of coniecture.

In the heauens it worketh harmony, on the earth peace, it is the hand of destiny to inforce chaunge, the scourge of God to punish sinnes, the true adamant that draweth courage vnto it, and a Basilique to feare that dyes to behold it: It is oyle to the stomache that hath digested poyson, as a medecine to a body that is choaked vp with corrupt humours, as a Fyre to the mettall that wants refining, as exercise to the body growne pursie with ydlenesse, it is the Theater wherein Nobilitie was borne

borne to shew himselfe, a glasse wherein policie espieth his infirmities, the worst and best that euer Fortune could promise her fauourites.

The surfits of peace first quickened it, and tyrany that gaue it sucke, perished in cherishing it.

It began in heauen, in the rebellion of Lucifer, it presumed vpon Paradise, betwéene the first man, and the Angell, in Shinare ambition made Nymrod embrace it: Neare Sodom affection caused Abraham to entertaine it: Sithens in the world it hath béene the Key of alterations, the disposer and spoyler of Monarchies, the founder of obscurities, the worker of miracles.

There is nothing so intire, that it hath not separated, neither so dissolued that it could not reconcile.

Peace vnto it, is as Castor and Pollax in a storme, a hope of safetie, warre vnto peace, as a motion to rest, the meanes to produce it.

It fauoureth not the multitude of men, but respects the value, and suffers valour sometimes to perish in the armes of a fearefull multitude: it is the scourge of securitie, the plague of timerites, the end of hatreds, and the beginning of discontents.

It fauoureth iniustice, and oppresseth innocents, it strikes as God willes, workes as sinne warpes it: briefly, a miserable necessitie in nature, and a necessary corrector of times infirmitie.

Pill. Why, then by this description and by the rest, what I haue noted, I perceiue that it is good to be a skilfull warriour, but ill againe to bée a great warre louer. Well Menelanus, I may commend thy valour, but neuer thy wit, that wouldst make a continuance of ten yeares warre, but to recouer a strumpet.

Skill. Ten yéeres war could not be cõtinued but with ten yeres woe, yet this blessednes of peace that is so much desired, doth especially consist in the knowledge of warre.

Pill. Why, then the feates of warre are not to be neglected, though in the midst of the most happie peace.

Skill. When is the ſtorme more rather to be prouided for, but whyleſt the weather is faire, neyther is there a more dangerous thing then in the time of peace to neglect the knowledge of Armes, for when that care is ſet aſide, both Prince and People are left as a pray for euery oppreſſour, and is an inducement for him to attempte, that otherwiſe would bee glad to combine.

Pill. I can tell you Captaine Skill, this doctrine will be reputed flat hereſie: what in the time of peace to prouide for warre, & to ſpend money when they ſee no danger? I can tell you our peace-mongers cannot abide it, nay they will not heare the name of warre ſo much as ſpoken of, till they haue newes that the Beacons be on fire about their eares.

Skill. I might ſpend a long time in delinering preſidents, how manie inconueniences haue bene incurr'd where they haue neglected this preparation, and omitting all the reſt, let Salomon giue vs light, who though he were promiſed a peaceable gouernment by God himſelfe, and had this addition to be called Rex pacificus, yet he furniſhed his Garriſons with more warlike prouiſions then euer his father Dauid had done before him, notwithſtanding he was ſtill turmoyled and euery day buſied in the warres, for if preparation be neglected till the warres begin, either it commeth to late and out of ſeaſon, or it heapeth together ſuch confuſion with making haſte, as it prooueth vnprofitable, and the proceedings will be but ſlowe, the execution ſlender, and the wants intollerable.

Pill. Preparation then is alwayes to be in readineſſe, but doth not this readines conſiſt aſwell in training men, & making them skilfull & ready in Military knowledge, as in preparing all other habiliments & neceſſaries appertaining to the warre?

Skill. Young ſouldiors vnprouided and sleightly trayned, are not to be drawen into the field againſt an Armie exercised and beaten with long practiſe, for vnexperimented men are fitter to furniſh a funeral then to fight a fielde: as little ſafetie is to be hoped for in ſmall and vnequall numbers, which do rather feed then end the warres, & do rather increaſe charge then win honor: ſmall cõpanies are ſhut vp without doing [illegible]

them

themselues or hurt to their enemies, & as they are little feared of their enemies, so they are lesse esteemed by their friends.

Where there is a mighty Army in the field, what City or Towne, Country or Province, will not be glad to curry fauor, and willing to redeeme their good will?

To conclude, a feeble Armie is euer despised aswell by friends as foes, but an able Army that is prepared and managed as it ought, will soone bring an ensuue to yelde eyther by victorie or composition.

Pill. Then they are a little mistaken that do thinke because they are able on the sodaine to furnish a Mutter rowle with infinite numbers of names, that therefore they can as quickly supplie the field with an able company of Soldiours: and there must be a like preparation of mony as of men, for monie is tearmed to be the sinewes of warre, and is of such importance in the Campe, that though a man haue plentie of Souldiers to follow him, and store of Munition to serue him, yet wanting mony to make paye, a man may say as Flaminius did by Philopomines, that he had the handes and leggs of warre, but he wanted the belly.

The Prince therefore that will leuie an Army, must learne with Theseus not to enter the Labyrinthe without a Clue, he must be prouided with sufficient Treasure, for the want wherof many Armies haue bene forced to dissolue.

Skill. And there is no preparation exactly to be set downe what might suffice, for warres haue neyther limit nor set boundes.

Pill. And the preparation is not so vncertaine, but it is as hard to be attained vnto, for though Arithmetick can quickly cypher downe a whole myllion of Treasure, yet all the rest of the Liberall Sciences are not so prodigall to bring it in together.

Skill. And yet I thinke there is more disorder in the issuing of the treasure when it is prepared, then there is trauell in the attaining to it, and that if there were a good order executed in the expending, neither the charge would be so great, nor the expences so burthensome, as I know they haue bene.

Pill.

Pill. Captaine Skill, I am not ignorant what reportes haue gone, how Princes haue bene purloined by cheatting officers, but our discourse is now of preparation, and by what meanes money might be prepared for the expence of warre.

Skill. It would bee a tedious matter to set downe the means that hath bin practised (more then ordinary) how to get mony onely for the supplie of warres, for besides Rents, Reuenues, Impositions, Taxes, Subsidies, penalties, Lones, Confiscations & such other like, there hath bene great summes raysed for the pryde and excesse both of men and women, from their garded garments, their coloured silkes, their gold & siluer lace, their Plate more then necessarie, their Iewells, their Coaches, and such other superfluities.

The fraudulent dealing of Officers hath bene sometimes examined and brought in question, & infinite summes hath bene by that meanes gathered together, & brought to the treasurie.

Pill. He that should aduise these presidents to be followed here in England, perhaps might offend more thē a good many, and yet me thinks there were some reason to induce, that those that haue robbed others of theyr money by fraudulent and deceitfull meanes, should be vsed like Spunges, that when they haue drunke theyr fill, are then fit to be pressed.

But now whilst I thinke of it, I will tell you what aduise a plaine country fellow did sometimes giue to Gentleman of good sorte, and one that had a great & a gainefull office friely giuen him by a gratious Prince, which gentleman being appointed to borow mony for his Soueraigne vpon priuy seales, comming into a part of the country, where the men of best abilitie in the shire (by a former appointment) were repayred vnto him, to whom this gentleman in a briefe discourse told them how many occasions their Soueraigne had to imploy mony, and was therfore driuen to make bolde amongst his good subiects to borow for a time till it might be repayed againe.

One amongst the rest (being no lesse plaine then wealthy) answered againe after this sort, if not directly in the same manner, yet I am sure not farre from the matter.

I pray God blesse our Soueraigne (said he,) and seeing

Here

there is such neede of money as your maistership hath spoken of: for my part I am not onely willing to lend this proportion that is demaunded, but if his Maiestie would follow my further aduice, I could teach him such a tricke, that he should haue money comming in euery day, little or much, and it would come trowling in such sort, as I warrant there would not be so great neede to borrowe of subiects, as now of late time there hath beene.

If you haue such a tricke (answered the Gentleman) you might merit much; and there is no doubt, but it would be very graciously taken by your Soueraigne, in making it knowne.

I can do it (said the other) and I will tell you what it is: and if his Highnesse could but make shift to buy your Maistership office, and three or foure others that I could name, and keepe them in his owne hands, your worship knowes he needed to want no money, but it would still be comming in, his coffers I warrant would neuer be emptie.

The conclusion was, I thinke this honest meaning man had but small thankes for his counsell, for those were no times for men to iest with Officers.

Skill. Besides money, there are many other prouisions to be cared for: as Armour, Weapon, Munition, and infinite of other furnitures, that are all to bee prouided afore hand.

But the necessitie of victuall (in the time of seruice) are of no lesse importance then the necessitie of money, without the meanes of which, there is neither meane to conquer, nor hope to liue.

Valiant mindes, will oppose themselues against the Pike, will aduenture vpon the Musquet-shot, or runne vpon the Cannon, but I did neuer know any man so hardy, that would yeild himselfe to encounter with Famine.

Where victuals therefore are not conueniently prouided for, the greatest mindes are terrified and ouercome without stroke: and a hungry Army can neither obserue Discipline, nor performe any great enterprise.

Pill. I haue knowne especiall seruices neglected, yea, and ouerthrowne, & but onely for this want of victuall, but I

will not speake of particulers, because in finding a fault, I know not whome I should offend, whether those of superiour authoritie, that might haue commanded, or those that were but inferiour Officers that should haue prouided: but this is to be cõsidered, ỹ for the expeditiõ of war, such Cõmanders, & Officers should be made choice of ỹ had iudgement aswel to consider of ỹ pursuit of an enterprise, as to looke into the beginning.

Skill. For the expedition of warre, it will neuer be accomplished with any hope of good successe, but by the vse of two instruments, Election and Discipline, the one in chusing, the other in framing when they are chosen.

Pill. But there is great error in Election, and it is committed in two maners, either thinking that he which is noble should likewise be vertuous, or for particular affection, perhaps in the behalfe of some one from whom the party would expect the like fauour againe: now if wars were to be waged against enemies, which would not take aduantage of errors and negligences, a Prince might chose more for fauour thẽ for nede.

Skill. And for Election that was wont to be frée, and of an vpright iudgement, it is now become a slaue to opinion, to that opinion that is both blind, lame, particular, and selfe conceited, and yet hath preuailed so farre, that we want but one other Erasmus to dyeffe opinion, as one hath already writ in the prayse of Folly.

Where opinion beareth sway, she ruleth like a God, she maketh soles to bée reputed wise, Cowardes to bée called couragious, and filly ignorant asses, to be admired for their martiall skill.

She sendeth Captaines to conduct, Officers to direct, that are fitter themselues to be trained, then to haue commaund.

Opinion sendeth men to the warre corrupted with vices, where they oppose themselues against all order & Discipline, they robbe, they spoyle, they sweare, they swagger, they quarrell, they eate, they drinke, they fight, they faint, they flye, they are couragious in spoyle, and cowardes in fight, they are curious in speech, and careleſſe of reputation, there is neither glory in their victory, nor dishonour in their flight.

Where

Where opinion mannageth the affaires of warre, without the assistance of Iudgement and Skil, the danger is great, but the expences are intollerable.

Pill. This election which you do here speake of (as I perceiue) doth not so much concerne the ordinary Souldiour, as it doth respect the appointment of Generals, Captains, Cõmanders, and all other Officers that are to direct and mannage the warre, in whose worth and vertue it consisteth either to make the Souldier more or lesse profitable for seruice, and it belongeth to their prouidence and care to make him able or disable to serue.

Skill. This well chusing of Officers is the most especial thing to be obserued by those that are desirous to accomplish by warre: Amongst the rest, the place of the Generall hauing the first superiority, if in his electiõ there be not the like regard and circumspection had to his skill and worthinesse, there may be chosen an instrument of all disorder, when by his vnskilfulnesse in martiall gouernment, there may arise so many euils, so many mischiefs, destructions, and confusions, as it may be called a much greater plague, then that which ariseth by the most infected ayre.

Pill. The olde prouerbe is, Such Carpenters, such chips, such Saints, such Relikes: and I beléeue (indéed) where a Generall is chosen vnskilfull, he lightly draweth about him Captaines and other Officers, as vnskilfull as himselfe, and then where the blind leades the blind, if they should performe any great enterprise, it might well be registred amongst other miracles of wonder. But I will not take vpon me in this place, to say how many abuses hath béene committed in the election of Captaines, and other Officers of the warre, I will leaue them till another occasion, and will here first speake of the choyce of the Generall himselfe, on whose skill and worthines (immediatly after the permission of God) the warre may bee said to be happy, or infortunate.

Since then the hope of winning or losing doth so much depend in the Generall, by doing, or not doing his dutie, me thinkes an Armie would bée much better mannaged

vnder the conduct of two or three Generalls, and the Prince might hope of better successe in those services where he had several to commaund, and not to trust overmuch to one.

Skill. I will alwaies preferre the government of one, because it is a government most agreeable to nature: and if without presumption we may compare small matters with infinite, it is most agreeing to the example of the Almightie himselfe, who being but one God alone, governeth and ruleth universally altogether: From hence it likewise seemeth meete, that the people of one Nation, should bee governed by one Prince.

Pill. But it happeneth many times, that in matters of doubt, there is not so much safetie in the opinion of one, as in the advisement of many, because affection, or passion, either through anger, or through spight, or through lust, or by some other turbulent occasion, sooner entereth into the minde of one alone, then into a multitude.

Skill. But I say againe it is an easier matter to finde one alone to be good and wise, then to finde a great many: I could inferre presidents, but by former experience it hath bene found, that it is better for those that be good and honest, to live under the government of one Prince, though he should be severe and halfe a tyrant, then to live in those regiments where there are as many Kings, as there be Officers in authoritie: where there is more daunger in displeasing of a great man, then there is safetie in serving of a Soveraigne.

Blessed say I, is that Regiment where the mightie oppressors are governed by one vertuous Prince, and not where the vertuous Prince is overruled by many great oppressors.

And as there is nothing more noysome to good subiects, then to have many Kings in one dominion, so there is nothing more pernitious for a Prince, then to make severall Generals in one Army of equall principalitie: For where there are severall Commaunders of equall power and authoritie, if there be not contention for preheminence and superioritie, yet bee sure that the desire of glory will breake the necke of amitie between them: & when honor is to be atchieved, the valorous minde

cannot

cannot endure to haue any sharers that shall diuide or participate with him in that glorious bootie.

Pill. But these contentions are euermore incident amongst the ambitious, and ambition is commonly an attendant to those great persons that are descended of Honorable linages: but Nobilitie in these dayes (for the most parte) haue layed aside the practise of Armes, she endeuoureth not (as she hath done) the deedes of Chiualry, wherby she is growen vtterly vnable to serue her Country, as in times past she hath bene: our ancestors made themselues noble by their Vertues, but now Nobilitie is best knowen by hir scutchins, she is become a seruant to pleasure, and hath geuen her self to idlenesse. Nobility in times past hath bene followed by Souldiers, but now she is haunted by flatterers: she hath countenanced wise men, but now she suffereth her selfe to be seduced by those of little witte.

Skill. The wings of true Nobility to make her flie high, are the deedes of Chiualry, and being inlightened by martiall skill, maketh her to shine more cleere and light.

I know not any thing so certaine that carryeth with it a greater Maiestie, then for Nobilitie to make noble defence against such as compound the miseries of Ciuill warres, and so be great leaders against forraine Inuaders.

Pill. True Nobilite loueth glory, abiect Nobility loueth wealth: true Nobilitie scorneth that fortune that is vnaccompanied with Vertue, and seeketh out that danger which is attended by Honour: she desireth not to seeme but to be Noble, and rather to be a Lion amongst Hartes, then to be a Hart amongst Lions.

Nobilitie consisteth not in titles borowed from our progenitors, but is extinguished in him that onely hath wit to keep mony, and no hart to win Honor: it is a title to a good man of great excellencie, but not to a wicked man of great infamie.

To conclude, true Honour onely leaneth to this, to deserue by noble deedes, to endeuour for her Countries good, to cherish the well deserving of the Valiant, to banish Foles and Flatterers, to line an excellent life, and not to shame nor

ſhunne an honourable death.

Skill. Then who ſo fit to commaund an Army, as he that is Noble? and the Art military is the principall profeſſion for Nobilitie: as for all other qualities, they are but as ornaments to garniſh the firſt: no not the ſtudie of Sciences and learning it ſelf, are but as complements to this glorious ſtudy of armes: As one demaunding of his friend whether he would rather wiſh to be Achylles or Homer, was anſwered; Tell me thou thy ſelfe whether thou wouldeſt rather to be a Captaine or a Trumpeter? but for him that is Noble, what tytle ſo honourable as to be called a great Souldier, vnleſſe we care not to ſhewe our ſelues like vnto thoſe that in learning will ſeeme to be men of warre amongſt the ignorant, but amongſt Souldiers, can but ſhewe themſelues to be learned.

Pill. But where Nobilitie by her owne contemning this honorable profeſſion, haue thereby made her ſelfe vnable to commaund, is not he then to be reputed noble & honorable both, who for the good of his country refuſeth no danger, but is contented to hazard himſelf to the death, only to attain experience?

What are we to looke after birth or parentage, when we ſee many times, perſons that are but of a baſe degree, to be yet inueſted with moſt high & noble gifts of Nature?

Skill. Theſe are to be commended and to receiue their reward, but vnfitting yet to beare this rule of an abſolute Commander: for where Noblemen are inflamed with the deſire of glory and renowne, thoſe of meaner parentage do more deſire to exceed in wealth then in worſhip; for they haue neither true taſte nor feeling of honor & renowne, but are rather inclined to a couetous humor (which is the roote of all Impietie) and leadeth them many times to neglect goldē glory for gripple gain.

Then who is ſo dull of vnderſtanding, but would be enflamed with the loue of Vertue, and would thinke himſelfe moſt happy & bleſſed, to be gouerned by the wiſdome & vertue of noble perſonages, whoſe deſire is to haue the rule & gouernment of others, only for this conſideration, that they might in their Office & gouernment, ſhew forth magnificent bountifulneſſe, & impart ſuch vertues vnto others, as with which their owne mindes are fraught & ſingularly furniſhed,

Pill.

Pill. But now it is to be vnderſtood, that euery ſtocke and lynage is ſet forth and beautified by Vertue, and Vertue not beautified and ſet forth by lynage.

Skill. Yet Noblenelle hath euer bene honored by all men, becauſe it ſtandeth with reaſon that good ſhould ſpring of good, and Vertue is moſt often ſucceeding in Noble blood: and the worthineſſe of honorable anceſtors craueth a reuerend regard to be had in their poſteritie, where he that is but of meane or ſimple parentage, muſt endure much to aduance his reputation, and cannot raiſe his eſtimation but with that tediouſneſſe of time, which the Noble by birth ſhall attaine vnto in a moment: and the inuoble may be ſometimes inticed to Vertue, but not by the allurement of Vertue it ſelfe, but are rather prouoked vnto it by dread, or by compulſion, or ſometimes perhaps in hope of preferment: and where Vertue is thus darkened with a wauering hope & faint courage, it is brought low, and but creepeth by the ground, where the vertue of true Nobleneſſe (indeed) being pure and vndefiled, doth ſwiftly raiſe it ſelfe on high, and doth with confidence mount vp to the higheſt heauens.

Pill. I acknowledge that Nobilitie which as on a chiefe pillar is ſtaied vpon Vertue: but where that pillar of Vertue is ſhaken and ouerthrowne, there Nobilitie it ſelfe muſt likewiſe fall to the ground: And I do further truly confeſſe, that he can do nothing gallantly, valiantly, or forceably, whoſe minde is not kindeled and inflamed with honourable deſire.

Thus giuing Nobilitie her due, I preferre the Noble to be moſt worthy of this great commaund, knowing that the barbytie is more effectuall to draw a reuerent regard, and to enforce a more dutifull obedience in an Army, then the largeſt Commiſſion. A Prince may deuiſe to graunt to him that is but newly crept vp from a meane reputation or a ſlender account: And becauſe I haue here ſpoken of a Commiſſion, here now ariſeth a doubt, whether it be behouefull for a Prince, for the benefit of his owne ſeruice, to preſcribe a Commiſſion to his Lieutenant or Generall, ſo tying him within certaine limits, that he may not paſſe the bounds of his commandment, whatſoeuer occaſion might be taken for the benefit of ſeruice.

Skill.

Skill. For the answere of this doubt, it is first to be considered, that when a Prince will bynde his Generall by such a Commission, it is necessary that he furnish him with all maner of provisions so aboundantly that he shall not want: for otherwise, what service is to be expected where they are first pinched in their provisions, and after bound so fast by their Commissions, that they shall not be able to helpe themselues?

Next, it is as behouefull for that Prince that will tye his Generall to straight limits, that he doe likewise very circumspectly instruct and direct him in those services he hath to performe, which is almost impossible for him to doe: for how should men that are ignorant themselues in the affaires of warre, prescribe their Generalls what they should do, or what they should not doe? or how should those that are absent, give prescriptions to him that is and must be in present view, and not bereaue him of those aduantages that the varietie of times and occasions may offer?

Some Princes and States that haue bene suspitious of their Captaines, haue bynded them by straight Commissions, other some againe, that hauing had respect to the dangers of times, yet forsaking the inconueniences that might ensue by ouermuch pairing their Generalls authoritie, haue in their Commissions left this (proviso) That they should proceede according to the variety of time and occasions, notwithstanding any restraint in them contained.

Pill. But whether a Generall that is thus tyed, may not sometime vse his owne discretion vpon occasion, as opportunities may offer?

Skill. The seueritie of Manlius Torquatus might suffice to discourage any man to stand in this conceit, who spared not the life of his own sonne, but for fighting with an enemie contrary to his commandement, notwithstanding he obtained the victorie.

But the Almighty himselfe preferreth obedience to be better then sacrifice, and it is more fit by executing the commandement of a Prince to shew obedience, then by exceeding their bounds to shew contempt.

For

For this cause the Souldier was worthily commended, who having already advanced his weapon to have taken the life of an enemie, that was under his mercy, whilest his arme was yet lifted vp to have given the deadly stroke, the Trumpet sounded a retraite, wherewith the Souldier staying his blowe, let his enemie thus escape: this being espied, it was demaunded of him, why he let slip so great an advantage; he answered, I holde it farre more honourable to obey my Captaine, then to kill mine enemy.

Pill. He that had a compleate Army of such Souldiers, might worke wonders: but some will say, that when occasion is offered to a Generall for the benefit of his Prince, he ought not so nicely to stand vpon the prescript of his Commission, as to neglect the benefit and fortune presented vnto him, when there is no Prince so provident who is able to foresee every accident that may happen: he is therefore to be reputed neither for wise nor valiant, that wil stand so much vpon his Commission as to neglect any occasion that may bring advancement to the honour and profit of his maister.

Skill. It is a daungerous thing for him that shall swarue from the Commaundement of a Prince, trusting more to his owne iudgement, then in his whom of reason he ought to obey, because if his imagination do faile him, and his enterprise conclude but with ill successe, he runneth into the penaltie of disobedience, without any hope of excuse or pardon.

But admit that his purpose be well effected, and brought to a good passe according to his desire, he may then thanke his fortune more then his wit, and this is all that he hath to trust vnto.

The Romanes in the prime of their greatnes, were not only strict in punishing these offences, but they were as lothe to punish with shame and ignomy, their Generalls and principall Commaunders (without any respect of their greatnes) that by shamefull practises had sought to vanquish, and by dishonourable meanes had obtained victories vpon their enemies: neither could Lucius Pius escape with his drunken conquest, but that in stead of a glorious tryumphe which he

required, he was repaied with a shamefull death, and a slaunderous Epitaphe, which he deserued.

Pill. But had they not in those dayes the practise of vile and villainous deceit, as to bereaue an enemy of his life by poyson, or by some sodain stab or stroke with a weapon, or to hire a murderer secretly to do some shameful office or execution?

These haue bene the policies of late times, and these practises haue bene especially approued.

Skill. By these meanes Fabritius would not win, he not only refused a conquest offered vnto him by that traytor Timocliares, but he likewise detected and accused his treason to the King his maister: neither would Camillus receiue the Schole-maisters offer, though he might thereby haue subdued the Phyliſtiens: no they thought it a matter of great Impietie, of an honest quarel to make an vniust conquest, neither would they admit of any practise wherein was founde either fraude or deceit, although it seemed neuer so profitable.

Pill. The Discipline of that age was much to be wondred at, yet more to be honoured: but was there the like respect vsed to those of ordinary account, I meane to priuate Captaines, and other Officers and Ministers of the warres?

Skill. There was no respect of persons, nor bearing with abuses, no not when whole Colonies had transgressed their Militarie orders, but they were decimated, and euery tenth person executed as they fell out by lot.

Pill. And he that feareth the effect, must seeke to anoyd the cause: and they that were so seuere in punishing offenders, would not themselues be the Instruments to drawe on offence: I meane in the Election of Captaines and Officers in their warres: I thinke it was done with such care and circumspection as they would not admit of the vnworthy, or the vnable.

A Captaine in those dayes could not buy a company for mony, nor be admitted to charge by bribing, sometimes by making himselfe Pencionary, paying a yearely stipend, which must be exacted either from the Prince or Souldier, or from both.

I thinke

I thinke my Lorde nor my Ladies Letter could not then haue preferred a man that was vnworthy & of no experience; neither do I beleeue that a Victualer could then haue crept into an Office, though a whole hundred of Angels should haue made intercession for him: nor a *Prouant* Maister, whose Office was to prouide apparell for Souldiers, could not haue purchased an Office for money, nor be suffered to powle and pill the poore Souldier euen to his very shirt.

Skill. In those times such Captaines and Officers were chosen as the places had need of, not such as had more need of the places, they were not then admitted to exact their owne greatnesse by the ruines of the Prince, nor to make their own gaine by the spoyle of the Souldier, the publique treasure that was to be imployed for the payment of Souldiers, they would not suffer to be purloyned by deceiuing Officers, the victuallers, Prouant Maisters, Officers of the Musters, and other Accountants were not onely looked vnto, but they were likewise looked into; if any of them had bene found vnworthy, or had bene taken tardy in a trip, he was sure to be dismist and punished according to the qualitie of their crime, they neuer stood in doubt to displease my Lord his maister that had commended him; they then bent all their indeuours to serue that Prince or State that gaue them pay, and not that Lorde or Maister that preferred them to their places.

Pill. One speciall meane that a shifting Captaine hath to deceiue his prince, is in his number, to take pay for a whole company when he hath not halfe: if his conscience wil farther stretch to exact and cheate vpon his poore Souldiers, he hath many base and vngodly shifts to performe it, but it were a pitteous thing, that any mans greatnesse should bouldter out such abuse, or that because a scraping Captaine should be knowne to be a Fauourite to this or that Noble man, therefore there should no man dare to crosse him in the camp, least his friends should crosse them againe in the Court.

For these Officers before spoken of, they may deceiue both Prince and Souldier by many more meanes, and of far grea-

ter ſummes then the Captaines can do: and it is like enough that in times paſt there hath bene ſome ſuch Officers, and it is as likely that ſome others that ſhould haue bene Controwlers of the offence, hath bene partakers and haue had intereſt in the gains.

Skill. But theſe were lamentable times, when Souldiers by theſe means might ſtand more in doubt to be robd by their Captaines, then to be hurt by their enemies, and miſerable might that warre be called, where more may periſh by the fraudelent demeanure of ſhifting Officers, then otherwiſe ſlaine by the enemies ſworde.

It is not enough therfore that Generals themſelues ſhould be elected and choſen with great foreſight and care, but it is as much behouefull that priuate Captains & all other Officers put in authoritie either to rule or to prouide, ſhould be choſen with the like regard and circumſpection.

Pill. There is nothing of more importance then the chooſing of good Officers, whether in peace or warre: but eſpecially where power Honeſtie is ſo put to ſilence that he dares not ſpeake, as many times his mouth hath bene ſtopped by Bribery and Flattery, two ſhrewd enemies: Ne Hercules contra duos.

Skill. Corruptions hath bene from the beginning & will continue, but where Bellona rings the Allarum-Bell, abuſes will there multiply: but Captaine Pill learne this of me, what is vertue in one is vice in an other, it is not for men of our coat to finde any faults, and although the world be rather inclined to diſpraiſe what is amiſſe, then to commend of that is well done, yet he lineth in better quiet that ſpeaketh but what he ſhould, then he that blabbeth all that is true: what ſhould men of our profeſſion haue to do with Bribery & Flattery? the time hath bin you had bin better to haue ſpoken againſt preaching: do you not know, he that will ſacrifice to Thraſo, Gnato muſt be his prieſt? and be there not many great perſonages, who although they can diſcerne of a Flatterer, and do knowe themſelues to be palpably flattered, yet they loue him that flattereth ſaſteſt, and will hate him that ſhould tel him the truth?

Pill.

Pill. Auguſtus that good Emperour of Rome, was ne-
ver angry with accuſers becauſe he thought it neceſſary, that
where many abuſes did flouriſh, that it ſhould be therefore be-
houefull for every man to ſpeake his mind freely: But the Po-
lititian, he that hath but Mammon for his God, and Machi-
uill for his ghoſtly Father, he cannot away with theſe finde-
faults: A gauld Jade will kick, and a guilty conſcience is afraid
of rubbing, and theſe be they that do rather ſeeke to couer faults
then to mend faults: theſe Politicians that be called the ſharpeſt
and the quickeſt witted men, what be their policies, or where-
vnto do they apply their quickneſſe of wit, but to couer their
naughtineſſe? If they haue a little good amongſt a great deale
of ill, they thinke that little good to be vtterly loſt, that hath not
the eyes of the world to witneſſe it, and to giue it applauſe, ſo
that if they doe any good, it is but to the end to be ſeene, and to
be prayſed by men, for in ſecret they will do nothing: if they for-
beare to do euill, it is for feare the world ſhould know it, and
were that feare taken away, they would ſticke at nothing.

I thinke there is not a more miſchieuous creature in the
world, then is a man, if he be both wiſe and wicked, for where
the wit is bribed by a licentious will, there honeſty is forced to
play bankrout, and it is but a rude kinde of honeſty, that re-
ſtraineth men from doing ill, but for feare of a popular re-
port.

But I cannot altogether blame the careleſneſſe of the
world, in that it is become ſo ſparing of good indeuours, when
there is neither reward for well doing, nor recompence for good
deſert: nor ſo much as a Memorandum for the moſt honour-
able enterprizes, how worthily ſo euer performed, vnleſſe per-
haps a little commendations in a Ballad: or if a man be fauored
by a Play maker, he may ſometimes be Canonized on a ſtage:
But Vertue, thou art driuen into a narrow ſcantling, that hath
no better recompence, then what thou canſt draw from vice it
ſelfe: It is no wonder though ſo fewe do looke out after thee, for
thou art growne poore, and who would follow a begger?

Skill. As the prompt and ready wit imployed in bad pur-
poſes, is moſt hurtfull; ſo it is neceſſary that euery capring wit,

ſhadowed with a little pretended care, ſhould intermeddle with matters of ſtate, nor ſhould buſie it ſelfe in thoſe affaires that ſhould not publikely be brought in queſtion.

Pill. As I am not ignorant that the State nor policy, are not to be medled withall by every man, ſo it is a pitious thing, that vnder this preſcript, Quod ſupra nos, nihil ad nos, and for that it is and hath beene a receiued opinion, That all truths are not to be ſpoken, that therefore a man muſt not indevour his countries good, nor ſpeake thoſe truthes that might concerne the glory of God, the ſervice of a Prince, and the benefit of a Common-wealth, or whether theſe preſcriptions before ſpoken of, ſhould ſo reſtraine a man from doing his dutie to his Soveraigne, that he ſhould not informe thoſe abuſes committed, whether in the Campe, or in the Court: or becauſe the corruptions of ſome great perſonage, might thereby be detected, his good meaning therefore ſhould not onely bee ill conſtrued, but his honeſt indevours vtterly diſgraced, and himſelfe reputed a buſie bodie, that is too forward in meddling with matters ſo farre aboue his reach.

Skill. The prayſe of well doing, conſiſteth chiefly in two points, whereof the one is in chooſing out an end, that our purpoſe is directed vnto, that is good indeede: the other the knowledge to finde out apt and meete meanes, whereby to bring it to this expected good end, thus appointed and intended.

Now he that pretendeth but to reueale thoſe thinges that may be beneficiall for his Prince or Countrey, his purpoſe is honeſt, and is directed to a very good end, and in ſuch a caſe, hee is not to neglect any thing that may tend to ſo ſoveraigne a good, but is rather to aduenture himſelfe for the ſafetie of either: yea, although it ſhould fall out to his great reproach.

Pill. Then ten times happy may that Common-wealth be reputed, where the eares of the Soveraigne Prince are open to the informations of honeſt and dutifull ſubiects, not onely in hearing matters that might giue light to his owne affaires, but with like gracious regard to heare and conſider of

the

the priuate and particular complaints of poore oppreſſed ſubiects, where Innocency is oppreſſed by Enuy, where ſimplicitie is intrapped by ſubtiltie, where truth is ſuppreſſed by authoritie: for a Prince that heareth the complaintes of his wronged ſubiects, is like a Criſtall ſtreame, wherein all may drinke that are drye.

Skill. If the bleſſednesse of a Common-wealth doth conſiſt in the clemency of the Prince, vnder what Clymat might we ſeeke for a more happy Regiment then this of our owne native ſoyle: what age hath euer affoorded a more princely gouernment, then that of our late deceaſed moſt gracious and godly Elizabeth: whoſe magnificence filled the world with wonder, whoſe Maieſticall greatneſſe was ſought vnto by the Princes of forraine Nations, who thought themſelues beſt ſecured, when they had entered league and confederacy with her: whoſe greateſt enemies did yet admire her heroicall vertues, whoſe royall perſon was trō time to time protected by the Almightie arme of God, from the traines and traps of Traitors, that daily purſued her, not for her ſinnes, but for her ſincerities and loue to the pure worſhip of God: they hated her indeede, but not for any faultes or offences of her owne, but for her zeale to that glorious Goſpell, that giueth light and life to thoſe that doth embrace it: they ſought her deſtruction, but not for her abhominations, but becauſe ſhe deteſted theirs.

See here againe the wonderfull goodneſſe of God, and his mercie towardes this Realme, at that very inſtant of her Maieſties death, when there was nothing looked after but for confuſion, no hope expected but effuſion and ſhedding of blood: See then, I ſay, his bleſſing redoubled, a gracious and a mightie Prince eſtabliſhed in peace, not a ſword drawne, though the enemies of the glorious Goſpell of Chriſt, had then intended the execution of their fury.

If I ſhould now take vpon mée to expreſſe the worthineſſe of this renowned King, thus inthroned by the hand

hand of the Almightie, I might imitate the Painters of Greece, who taking vpon them the portraiture of Iupiter, were euery day mending, but could neuer finish it: and being demaunded why they had begun what they could not end, they answered, in that we shewe him to be Iupiter, whom euerie one may begin, but neuer any man be able to perfect.

If any man be yet desirous to make a more ample survey of his vertues, let him but reade those lines by himselfe, he hath left to posteritie, and he shall finde by the excellency of the fruites, how much England is made happie by so glorious a tree.

God blesse the stocke and branches altogether, and send them long to flourish, from generation to generation, in the highest tipe of honour, and Princely Maiestie.

Pill. Amen say I, and withall humblenesse I beseech it: and that God that rules the hearts of Princes, put in his royal heart the care and safetie of himselfe, for his owne and Englands good.

God keepe him still from the godlesse, and the God-maker, the Atheist, and the Papist; the one neuer loueth but in policie, the other is still practising for his Pope: and it is a hard matter in these dayes to distinguish Humilitie from Flattery, their words and smiles are the one so like the other.

But Captaine Skill you haue already taught me not to meddle with the affaires of Princes, and I learnd it long ago, by the fable of the Fore and the Wolfe: and although it be but a fable, it is yet worth the repeating, because there is contained in it good admonition.

The Fore and the Wolfe passing by the Lions Denne, were desirous to see what he was doing: and the Fore verie subtilly but a little peeping in, told the Wolfe that the Lion was asleepe: the Wolfe taking courage to take a better view, was no sooner entered, but the Lion immediately caught him in his clawes, and demaunding of him what was his pretence, the Wolfe fearefully made answere, that vnderstanding by the Fore his Maiestie was asleepe, he thought without offence, he might nurury both his person and his lodging: to whome the Lion roughly replyed. Doest

Doest thou thinke that a Lion thy Prince and Gouernour can sleepe, though he sometimes winke, or dare'st thou enquire whether he winke or wake? thou shalt know to thy griefe, that neither the wilinesse of the Fore, nor the foolish pride of the Wolfe, ought to enquire whether the Lion be asleep or awake, at home or abroad dead or aliue, this alone is sufficient for you to know, that he is a Lion, but not where he is, nor what he is doing.

Skill. The like caueat was giuen by Apelles, when Alexander on a time comming to his shop, would needes take vpon him to paint. Apelles placing him at his backe, and tending his owne worke, would not so much as cast an eye to see what Alexander did, which being perceiued by Alexander, he demaunded of Apelles why he did not otherwhiles ouerlooke his handy-worke, to see wherein he had erred and done amisse? to whome Apelles said, it is not for Apelles to inquire what Alexander hath done, and therefore did I set your Maiestie at my backe, that I might not so much as glance with mine eye to see a Kings worke, and yet that you looking ouer my head, might see mine, for Apelles shadowes are to bee seene by Alexander, but not Alexanders by Apelles.

So ought we to frame our selues in all our actions, as though the King were still standing ouer to behold our doing, but not for vs to looke and enquire what the King doth behinde vs, or to take vpon vs to reforme his errours, or mistakings.

Pill. It is no wonder then, though Princes do but seldome times correct and amend their errours, when there is no man so hardy that dare reprehend them, or that dare let them vnderstand when they ouerslip.

The counsel therefore of Demetrius is to be commended, who exhorted Ptolomy to reade many bookes pertaining to gouernment, for that there he should finde many things which his subiects durst not tell him.

Skill. There is no man that willingly giueth eare to him which doth freely and liberally tell him his faults or imperfections, but when a man hath both meanes and will, and a good

occasion to doe it to his Prince, let it be performed with great reuerence and modestie, that the Prince may perceiue no lesse loue towardes him, then a will to discouer vnto him the error which he committeth: for otherwise it is not lawful by reproachfull speeches to publish the faultes or ill dooinges of a Prince, neyther is it possible for a man to behaue himselfe so reuerently towardes him, though it bee reported that when Aristippus could not bee heard of Dionisius, hee threwe himselfe downe at his feete, saying, the faulte is not mine though I committe Idolatrye, but the Kings whoe hath his eares in his feete: yet say I, euerye one is to reuerence and obey his Prince with all humblenesse of dutie, for that the honoure is not giuen to him but to God himselfe, whose Minister he is.

Pill. And yet all mens eyes are still attendant vpon his demeaner, and his dooinges are examined as well in the Countrie as in the Courte, and the actions of the most mightiest Monarches are manie tymes censured in the meanest cottage.

Skill. The vigilancie of the people is so much the more, because the life of the Prince is a ring leader to the multitude, vpon whose example either of good or ill, the people are still depending, for example is the readiest waye to instruct: and therefore it is trulie saide, Such Prince such subiectes: if the Prince bee good himselfe, hee will likewise make others good that are about him, and there is not a greater testimonie of the goodnesse of a Prince, then to see the goodnesse of those that doe attend his person.

Pill. But are there not manie Presidents left in record of Princes, which of their owne dispositions haue bene most graciously and vertuously inclined, and haue yet bene corrupted by those that were nyghest about them: sometime vnder the pretence of policie and profit, they haue bene led into errours: otherwhiles their eares haue bene abused by those that had no other meanes to make themselues gratious in the eyes of their Prince, but by feeding him with matters perhaps more profitable to the parte,

then

then healthfull to the ſoule. Some other againe by ſeeking to blindefolde the Princes eyes, that they ſhoulde not looke into the affayres of the meaner ſorte of the ſubiectes, nor ſo much as to take knowledge or to receiue anye Complayntes of the oppreſſed, haue thereby kept the Prince in ignorance, and made themſelues wiſe.

Howe manie Princes againe that haue bene of great Renowme, of rare vertue, and of excellent wyt, hath yet beene led with lycentious libertye, drawne in by theſe inticers of pleaſure and delyght? theſe ſullen ſlaues that can creepe, crouch, lye, fawne and flatter for a fauoure, that can watch, wright, diſſemble, and conſpyre to pleaſe a Prince: theſe haue beene the plague ſoares of manie common wealthes, that haue often ruinated Kingdomes, and ouerthrowne Eſtates.

Skill. The fauoure of a Prince is highlye eſteemed amongſt men, and yet being duelye conſidered of, it is but a poyſoned bayte that inducеth manye daungers: for beſides a wearyſome life, and the miſerable ſeruitude that belongeth to Courting, ſo a man muſt be verie reſpective in pleaſing of his Prince, although ſometimes but with worldly vanities.

Theſe ſeruauntes of ambition, doe manye tymes thruſt themſelues into infinite perrilles, eſpecially when they become ſo familyar that their Princes will imparte vnto them their ſecretes: But hee that knowyth the ſecretes of Princes, hee is chary of it, hee ſhutteth his mouth, and feareth leaſt it ſhould eſcape him: but is it diſcloſed, the vndiſcreet man doth publiſhe it, and perhappes the wiſe man is blamed for it, and the leaſt ſuſpition is now enough to ruinate him, that before might haue ſlept in his Princes boſome.

I will therefore commende the Poet Philippides, who being demaunded by King Liſimachus, what fauour hee might doe vnto him for that hee loued him, made this anſwere to the King, that your Maieſtie would neuer impart vnto me any of your ſecrets.

By this it might seeme, that in the loue or hatred of a Prince there is almost a like daunger: I therefore thinke it not amisse to followe the fable of the earthen vessell, which in no wise would hold any cõpany with ỳ brazen vessell, for feare of knocks: and it may easily be thought, that in the company of a Prince, a man cannot vtter his minde freely, nor doe any thing contrary to his pleasure, but if he doe, he shall be no friend of Cæsars.

Pill. Fire warmeth those that stand alofe, and burneth him that creepeth to nigh: I loue the Court, but (vnder correction be it spoken) I haue thought it a fitter place for Paris then for Hector.

Skill. Captaine Pill, the Campe is better befitting a Souldier then the Court, and I thinke your experience and mine doth rather serue to speake of Souldiers, then to iudge of Courtiers: and I wonder how from our first matter of discourse we are hit into this veine, that I wish wee might let be, and returne ouer to some other text, that our skill will better serue to discourse on.

Pill. I hope our honest meaning will not be imputed to presumption, and I haue the rather aduentured the matter vpon this occasion, the mittigation of warre now hoped for, and a blessed peace expected, by a most gracious and happie gouernment, hath giuen Souldiers a time of truce, that they may lay by their Armes, and indeuour to whet their wits in any other commendable exercise: And we may a little take this aduantage in our discourse, and not so to tye our selues to martial matter, but that vpon occasion we may a little digresse, like a cunning gamester when he is at Hazard, will sometimes leaue the Maine to play vpon the Bye: And I would not be thought to be of so furious a humor as ỳ fiery spirited Gentleman Souldier, that hitting amongst pleasant company, was requested by a Gentlewoman to dance, but he with a disdainfull loke, tolde her that he toke no pleasure in so vaine delights: the Gentlewoman requested him againe, to say wherein his pleasure did especially consist, and hee bending his browes and looking with a sterne countenance, tolde her his felicitie was,

Armes

Armed in the field to encounter his enemies. The Gentlewoman ſmiling at the folly of our vaine-glorious Partialiſt, made this anſwere. Now God be thanked there is yet no néd of your ſeruice, for our territories and confines are happily bleſſed with peace, and therefore I could wiſh that you were wel beſmeared ouer with oyle, and ſo hanged vp in ſome faire Armory till we haue néd of your helpe: for it were great pitie that a man of your courage ſhould be cankered and eaten with ruſt now in this peaceable time.

I would be ſory to receiue ſuch a frump, neither wil I ſtand ſo much vpon my martiall points, as though I could do nothing but ſpeake of fighting of fields.

I wil therefore ſpeak or do any thing as occaſion ſhall ſerue: in the time of warre, I can liſten to the Drum, but in the time of Peace, a Tabret and a Pipe are merry about a May-Pole: and although I be ill made to daunce, yet I wil rumble on amongſt the reſt, I had rather they ſhould finde fault with my cunning, then to repute me to be diſdainfull.

And now we haue taken this little breath, let vs (in Gods name) march backe againe to the Campe from whence we came, where we haue left our Generall not ſo fully complete as is requiſite: for it is not enough for him that ſhal command an Army to be nobly borne, but he muſt be likewiſe fortified with thoſe gifts that are no leſſe to be attained vnto by education as by nature. And as I remember, Cato preſcribeth three ſpecial vertues to be had in a Generall, that is to ſay, Experience, Policie, and Valiance: and the Antiquiſts would neuer admit of him for a Commander, that was either inſufficient in ſkil, or openly detected of vice.

Swearing breedeth hatefulneſſe to all honeſt eares, Couetouſneſſe exporteth both of Prince and Souldier, Pride bringeth with it diſdain: and Cato being Cenſurer to make choice of a Generall in the *Panonian* warres, openly diſgraced and diſmiſſed *Publius*, becauſe he had ſéene him walke the ſtréetes of Rome perfumed.

Skill. To this Experience, Policie & Valiance preſcribed by Cato, we wil adde two others, namely, Iuſtice & Mercy.

Amongſt the reſt, Juſtice is the foremoſt and firſt to be preferred, for it is the foundation of Eternall Fame, without the which there is nothing can deſerue to be praiſed or commended: and Juſtice in a Generall towards his Souldiers, is the key of his Diſcipline, the entrance to confirme their loue that ſerues him, and a curbe to reſtraine their miſdemeanures that would offend him.

Againe, the force of commaunding is the conſent of them that obey: and this conſent ſpringeth by eſtimation, the which by no one meane is more exactly ſquared out then by the execution of Juſtice: for when the Souldier ſhall perceiue that he ſhall be ſuffered neither to do nor take wrong, it ſo confirmeth him with ſuch feare and loue towards his Commaunder, that he wil refuſe no enterpriſe though he ſhould be willed (as Scipio ſaide) to caſt himſelfe headlong from the height of a Rocke.

Pill. Juſtice hath bene reputed to be the Twin-ſiſter of Percy, and to vſe too much ſeueritie, is not the readieſt way to winne, eſpecially amongſt Souldiers.

Skill. An vncontrowled Army, that is not curbed & manaaged by Juſtice, is like a brain-ſicke Jade without a bridle, more noyſome and corrupt then is a body without a ſoule: but yet to holde a meane, is the ſalte and ſoule of euery vertue: neither is there any thing more nigher to Iniuſtice then is the aſperite and rygor of Juſtice.

The warres are therefore to be proſecuted with as great Juſtice as ſtrength, and as the Juſtice of the cauſe is firſt to be approued, ſo with like equitie and right, the warres muſt be maintained.

A righteous and a iuſt cauſe addeth encreaſe of courage, it inciteth to Valiance, and it doth ſo corrytate and ſtrengthen the mindes of men, that they may aduenture their liues with the greater boldneſſe, when they know that whether they liue or dye, they may do both in the ſeruice and feare of God.

Pill. And is not this obſeruation of Juſtice as well to be kept with enemies, againſt whome we are Armed, and haue entered hoſtilitie, as with adherents and friends, whom we may commaund and ouerrule?

Skill.

Skill. The example vsed by Camillus vpon the Schoolemaister may suffice for the matter, that was more effectuall to subdue the Phalatians, then was the might or force of the Romane Armie, neither was there any thing that made the Romane Common-wealth, so glorious and triumphant, as their vertues of Iustice, Clemency and Loyalty, which they alwaies vsed to their very enemies.

Pill. The warres then were performed with as great honour as they are now with trechery, and the Campe might then haue bene reputed for a Schoole of honour, iustice, obedience, dutie, and loyaltie: but now it is become a denne of deceit, trechery, robbery, blasphemy, & all maner of other impiety.

And as this obseruation of Iustice is of great excellencie, and is a blessing powred downe from the heauens, so the effect of it, is but in maintaining of right, and doing no wrong: A lesson of no great importance to be learned and carried away, though not so easily kept. But now for this Militarie Experience, that is behouefull for a Generall or Captaine, how is this to be attained vnto? for this is not to be learned by precepts, but it is to be taught by time, not to be comprehended but by continuall practise, it is bought with gray haires, grieuous woundes, and great dangers: If I be not therefore deceiued, he that should commaund, should first learne to obey, and he ought to be a man of tride and knowne Experience, that should haue so many mens liues depending on his skill.

Skill. There is no occupation, be it neuer so simple, neither is there any profession, how slender so euer in account, but it craueth both practise and Experience, and at the least a full apprentyship of seuen yeres, before a man may be thought worthy to be imployed in his Facultie. If then in these meane and pettie causes, the attainment of skill is not to be apprehended, but by such continuance of time and practise, how many yeares were then behouefull, or what processe of time might be thought sufficient, for him that should be perfected in martiall Experience in the knowledge whereof, there was neuer any man yet so complete and exact, but he was still euery day to learne: yea, though he had serued full out seuen apprentyshipps.

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Onely the knowledge of the Art Military, the older it is worne out with yeares, the yonger it waxeth, and the farther off to be attained and comprehended.

The want then of this Experience, breedeth the want of courage, when the suddainnesse of peril is more terrible then the daunger it selfe, and by how much it happeneth to a multitude, by so much the matter seemes more desperate: for when their mindes are once possessed with feare, there is no place left for confidence, but turning all their hopes into doubtes, they surrender themselues without consideration, not whither advise and counsaile should direct them, but whither their distracted fortunes will conduct them.

Thus Ignorance begetteth feare, feare engendreth doubt, doubt leadeth to desperation, and desperation bringeth to destruction.

But it is Experience that confirmeth mens minds in the vertue of Valiance, maketh them to be resolute, and truly magnanimious.

Occasions themselues do rather giue counsailes to men, then men to occasiõs, when occasions many times will afford more helpe in warre, then Vertue, but it is Experience that must take opportunitie when occasion doth offer.

And Reason it selfe must many times giue place to necessitie (especially in matters of warre) in that it seldome suffereth a man to make choyce of time: Againe, the fitnesse of place is to be considered, which many times yeeldeth more aduantage then the vertue of Force, but still it is Experience that must discerne of altogether.

So that we may wel conclude Experience to be the first, the second, and the third meane whereby to obtaine in warre.

Pill. O how many Turft-Taffita Captaines haue we in these dayes, that perhaps haue made a Caales Voyage, or haue bene a moneth or two in the lowe Countries, or in Ireland, or haue had the conducting of Souldiers to the waters side, or hath bene a trainer or a Muster-maister (as they call him) in the shire: yet if they had but learned to double their ranckes on the right hand, and sometimes to runne away on

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the left, and can ſpeake a little of the newe Diſcipline, they will diſcourſe of greater exploytes then euer was perfozmed befoze Troy.

They will ſpeake of conducting of Armies: howe to imbattell them, when to ſhake off ſkirmiſhe, howe to fight with aduantage, where to imploye heſe-men, when the ſhotte ſhall giue theire vollyes, how to incounter with the puſh at the pike, when it is time to charge, when to retyze: you ſhall heare them fight a field, and giue an ouer-thzowe, and all by imagination.

You ſhall heare thoſe ſometimes that will ingroſſe the actions of a whole Armie, and will attribute ſo much to their owne value, that it were a hard matter to beleeue them without a ſtedfaſt faith.

With theſe toyes they haue decciued men of reaſonable wit, though of little vnderſtanding: and ſometimes when they haue hit into the preſence of ſome Nobleman that was ignozant of martial matters, they haue ſo amazed his ſences with theſe errogating explycations, that his ſuper excéeding courage, ſhall not onely be admyzed and wondzed at, but his martiall ſkill and Experience, ſhall be ratified and commended by Nobility it ſelfe.

It is enough foz him that can but robbe a painted cloath of a hiſtozie, a booke of a diſcourſe, a ſoale of a faſhion, if hée can ſweare Sblood and Sownes, take a pipe of Tabacco, and bzing my Ladies letter to my Lozd, it is Experience enough, and he ſhall be pzefererd befoze another that hath ſerued twenty yeares in the Campe.

Skill. God bleſſe me, my Countrey and friendes, from his direction that hath no better Experience then what hée hath atteyned vnto at the fetching home of a Maye-pole, at a Midſomer ſighte, oz from a trayning at Milende-Greene: neither is it a Ladies letter, noz a Noble mans fauoure, noz at the leaſt, thzée oz foure yeares trayning, that can make a man fit to commande in a well gouerned warre.

Pill. How ſhould we now diſtinguiſh of that honeſtie which is perfect and abſolute (indeed) from that falſe and pretended colour of honeſtie, that is but counterfeit and falſly furniſhed, or of that policy, that ſhould be an ornament of honour to a Captaine or General worthilie renowned, from that craft & ſubtiltie that is now ſhrowded & cloaked vnder the titles of wit or policie, which are no other then fraud and deceipt? and then if *Plutarche* ſpeaketh true, there is no fraude without iniurie.

Skill. I commend policie ſo it be legitimate, firſt begotten by wit, and foſtered vp by honeſtie: and there is a certaine honeſt ſubtilty which palleth vnder the name of policy, as to make attempt againſt a common enemie, a robber, a ſpoiler, a rebel, a traitor, in ſuch a caſe it importeth nothing in reſpect of Juſtice, whether he be aſſailed openly or intrapped by ambuſh, or by any other practiſe wherein faith and honour may bee preſerued, and Juſtice nothing violated: this policie hath beene of great commaunde amongſt Souldiers, and good reaſon too, when in the action of warre, it is fitter for the field then Force.

Pill. Policie without force, is like a workman without tooles.

Skill. And force without conduct and ſkill, may well charge an enemie, but ſildome win honour.

I know Force to be requiſite, but where it beares more ſwaie then vnderſtanding, it runnes to confuſion, and to deſtruction in the end.

Force that is not aſſiſted by advice, is like a horſe without a rider, of it owne ſelfe, it deſtroieth it ſelfe: and Force and furie, without Diſcipline & Order, are eaſily vanquiſhed and ouerthrowne by Policie.

The ſtrength of vnderſtanding is therefore more availeable in the day of battell, then is the ſtrength of vnſkilfull men, and more fields haue bene loſt for want of policie, then for want of ſtrength: for where force ſerueth for execution, policie is he that prepareth the meane.

To daunte an enemie by Force is the Souldiers praiſe,

but

but to intrap him by policie is the Captaines honour: & more glory for a Captaine to be feared of a wise enemie for his policie, then to be praised by a foolish Citizen, rather for the forces that follow him, then for any wit in his head.

Skill. Besides Stragemes that are euerie day inuented and deuised as occasions doe arise, so there are manie preceptes politiquely prescribed, that me thinkes in this place woulde partlie bee remembred, because they are behoueful for euerie Captaine to obserue: amongst the rest, whether it may stande with policie, that those enterprises vndertaken with indiscretion, or against reason, should escape vnreprooued, though they conclude with some good or lucky successe.

Skill. Reason beholdeth some purposed ende, whether it directeth euerie action, and hee that vndertaketh with Iudgement and discretion, if hee bring his affaires to a good and happie successe, it will be imputed to his vertue: but if to any ill issue, it will be attributed to the malice of his fortune: and the antiquitie punished nothing with more seueritie, then those enterprises attempted against commaundement, or vndertaken againste Reason: but as they punished those victories that were attained by lewde and foolish hardinesse, so misfortune diminished not his reputation, that attempted with discretion, neither attributing cowardlinesse to ill successe, nor Valiance to good fortune.

Pill. A Captaine then ought warilie to examine the ende of his drifte, before he giues them course, for he that enterpriseth rashlie not considering of the issue, shal repent him of his follie when it is past remedie.

Skill. When a Captaine hath to deale with an enemie, whom he knoweth to be a man of iudgement and skill, so long as he shal find him to proceede in his affaires with reason,

ſo long it may be beléeued, there is nothing done extraordinarily, otherwiſe then with a due courſe, according to Iudgemẽt and martiall ſkill, but when attempts are made as it were againſt the haire, and enterpriſes put in practiſe, that are deuoid of Reaſon: A wiſe Commaunder in thoſe caſes ought to be the more vigilent and wary, and to thinke that ſuch offers are neuer made, but vpon ſome hidden purpoſe.

Pill. To be ouerlight of beliefe, argueth a lightneſſe of wit, and thoſe that are ouermuch credilous, may be reputed to be men of the firſt Impreſſion: to make account of an enemy ſo farre forth as is néedefull, is the part of a wiſe Captaine, but ſo to feare him, as to be afraid to encounter him, argueth the want of Courage, and there is no greater ſigne to loſe, then when a man is perſwaded, not to be able to win.

Skil. To make ſmall account of an enemy, is a daungerous matter, and many honourable enterpriſes hath béene entercepted, where an enemie hath béene thought ſo ſéeble and weake, that they haue rather deſpiſed him, then made any account of ought he could do: but a wiſe Captaine will neuer ſo lightly regard an enemy, for if he be olde, his wiſedome and Experience is to be feared, but if he be young, and therewithall either heady or raſh beware of his fortune, for according to the olde prouerbe, Fortune doth not onely fauour Fooles, but is likewiſe helping to thoſe that bee bolde and hardy.

And in daungers where there be many eyes to beholde, you ſhall ſée ſome whoſe hearts are already almoſt dead, yet pricked with ſhame, or intiſed onely by company, they will goe forwardes (as it were) blindfold, and do their dutie.

Pill. Machiuill thinketh it no policie for a Prince to be aduiſed in his martiall cauſes, by ſuch a Councell as are altogether addicted to warre, or too much inclined to peace, but miſerable is that warre, ſay I, where Couetouſneſſe doth either commaund or giue counſell, or hath any intereſt at all either with Officer or Souldier.

Skill. There is nothing more rather to ouerthrowe an Army, then where the Captaine or Souldier are more deſi-

rous

rous of ſpoyle, then careful of honour: And couetouſneſſe is the cauſe of many great euilles, for as it hindereth victory before the fight, ſo againe after the fight it plucketh the glory of an ouerthrow out of the victors hands, making him of a Conqueror, to become conquered.

Pill. There is not a more pernitious euill, then that of Couetouſneſſe: and a couetous wretch, as well in the time of peace, as in the time of warre, is deteſted and abhorred, and by how much he is aduanced to greatneſſe, either by his owne wealth, or by authoritie, by ſo much the more hee is curſed by the people, and vengeance daily denounced againſt him, by as many as hath to deale with him.

Skill. Couetouſneſſe is the Curre that deuoureth his owne Acteon, the Ball of Hipomines, to hinder the courſe of Atalanta, the Charibdis that ſwalloweth vp all honeſt meanes whereby the multitude ſhould maintaine life: The Scraping Brier that ſcratcheth the wooll from the ſilly Sheepe, when it commeth but to ſeeke ſhelter, the Canker that fretteth the Common-wealth, eating and deuouring the gettings of the poore.

It is Couetouſneſſe that poiſoneth the eares of Princes, and teacheth them to neglect and ſet aſide all iuſt and honourable dealing: It is Couetouſneſſe that holdeth nothing vnlawfull that bringeth in gaine: It is Couetouſneſſe that maketh no conſcience in gathering of Golde, nor in ſpilling of bloud.

Pill. It is Couetouſneſſe, that was neuer cheriſhed by vertue, nor beloued of God, and as Couetouſneſſe is a moſt hatefull vice in him that ſhould commaund an Army, ſo I cannot admit of him, that from a bare and needie eſtate ſhould be aduanced to that dignitie of a Generall, becauſe his pouertie would be a ſpurre to pricke him forwardes to exact from thoſe, that Nobilitie inueſted with Honour, would otherwiſe cheriſh and maintaine, though to his owne expence.

Skill. Here is yet to bee remembred, how much digreſſing

from martiall Policie: for a Prince to affye himselfe on such confederates, as are dull and slow in helping: or to seeke assistance from friendes that are farre off, who by reason of the distance of place, cannot give such speedy succours as necessitie may require.

And no lesse daungerous againe to be serued by Souldiers, that are to encounter with an enemie, who is likewise serued with Souldiers of the same Nation, considering how hard a matter it is to bring Souldiers of one Nation, to any incounter, the one against the other.

Pill. We should not neede to loke out farre for presidents, for he that hath beene well acquainted with the seruices of Ireland, will quickly set downe, probatum est.

Skill. But that experience is better in a medicine, then in a malady.

Pill. And it is strange to see how many water-casting Phisitians hath taken vpon them to loke into the diseased estate of that Realme of Ireland, and how they haue pretended not onely to knowe the nature of the sickneſſe it selfe, that doth oppresse it, but also from whence the cause hath had proceeding, and how it might be cured.

And he that hath beene in Ireland, and but of one moneths continuance in the Countrey, would set downe precepts of reformation, and prescribe plats and meanes how the people might haue beene reduced to a dutifull and louing obedience.

But plat what, and how they could, the Irish haue from time to time continued their rebellions: and within the compaſſe of our owne memories, that Countrey hath consumed many worthy and gallant Gentlemen, and spent our late gracious Queene, infinite summes of Treasure: and notwithstanding that the base and beggerly Irish (I meane those of the rebellious sorte) had no meanes to maintaine a warre against so mightie a Princeſſe, no Artillery, no Prouision, no Storehouses with Munitions, no Shipping to transport, no Mint to make pay, nor any maner of other helpe, either to leuy new forces, or to supply their olde with conuenient necessa-

ries

ries fit for an Army, yet they haue borne out their rebellion from time to time, sometimes for seuen or eight yeares together, and but with a little Date-meale and Butter: In the meane time there were Politicians, that (of my conscience) did not so much as thinke of God, nor neuer meant to let him knowe, nor make him priuy to their deuises, and yet would say, they durst vndertake to haue reformed Ireland with the very industry of wit.

Skill. The policies of men are vaine, and those policies that hath not their originall from that diuine and soueraigne Policie, deriued from the word of God, is both vaine, and foolish: and it is no lesse fond, to beleeue that a people should be confirmed to the dutie and obedience of their Prince, that are not first reduced to the true knowledge and seruice of their God.

And what reformation may be expected in that Countrey, that doth swarme with Iesuites, Seminaries, Malling-Priestes, and other like Ministers of Antichrist, the protested enemies to all those Princes that do maintaine and vpholde the pure word of God.

But this is more strange then all the rest, that there should be any hope at all to reforme a people, that from their verie infancy haue beene trayned vp vnder Schoole-maisters, who not only instructed and nouzled them in the disciplines of the Popes Church, and as they grew in yeares, caused them to vow and protest obedience and subiection to his holinesse: but also would perswade and inioyne them by exhortations, from time to time, to hate, contemne, and despise their Prince, that they would say, was but an Heriticke, accursed and excommunicated from the Communion of the Catholike Church; and when they grew of age to take an oath, they sware them vpon the holy Masse Booke, truly and honestly to obserue the premises.

This hath beene the vse of Ireland in times past, and I am sure hath beene as conuersant and generall throughout the whole Realme, as there were either Schoole-masters to teach, or Schollers to be taught.

Pill.

Pill. Is it poſſible that the lenitie of ſo gratious a Soueraigne, as ſhe that ſwayed the ſword ſo many yeares, with ſuch mildneſſe and mercie, ſhoulde yet be requited with ſuch diſloyaltie?

Skill. Her Maieſtie thought that in being gratious, ſhe might thereby haue wonne their hearts to a more loving and willing obedience, and to this ende to drawe them to a dutifull regarde, what did ſhe neglect that was eyther befitting a Prince to grant, or behoouefull for ſubiects to receiue, but that ſhe liberally beſtowed amongſt thē, what pardoning, what protecting, and what mittigating of offences that were committed againſt hir, and how many Gentlemen of that countries byrth, were continually returned from hir Maieſties Court, back againe into Ireland, laden with giftes and preferrmentes, who after they had paſſed and poſſeſſed their grants, would not after come in place to ſay Amen, where they heard hir Maieſtie praied for.

Pill. Yet ſome will ſay there is not a readier meane whereby to drawe ſubiects to a ſetled loue, then this bountifull and gratious clemency vſed by the Prince.

Skill. He that handleth the Nettle moſt tenderly, it ſtingeth moſt bitterly, and although men be made all of one mettall, yet they are not all caſt in one mould.

The nature of the Iriſh are to be conſidered, that for the greateſt part are inclined to crueltie, to theft, to robbery, to treaſon, to deceipt, and ſuch other.

Now to incounter theſe with gentlenes and curteſie, were to ſet a Sheep, to incounter with the Wolfe, the Lambe, with the Lyon, the milde with the mercileſſe, and therefore to a people thus diſpoſed, cloſe crueltie is more apt to reforme, then open clemencie.

Pill. But they complaine of too much crueltie vſed by our Nation, eſpecially now in theſe late warres: they ſay they are eracted, robbed and ſpoiled, & maimed no leſſe by the ſouldier that ſhould defend them, then by the rankeſt rebell that is moſt readie to oppreſſe them.

Skill. Seditious eſtates, with their owne deuiſes, falſe

friends

friends with their owne ſwoꝛds, and rebellious Commons by their owne knaues, dꝛawes on their owne ouerthꝛowes.

Do the Iriſh complaine of cruelties, and of the exactions of the Souldiers? do they not knowe that Souldiers in the time of warre will ſpoyle, and that it is the fruites of warre to waſte and ſpoyle? and I thinke oꝛdained by the Almightie himſelfe, as a ſcourge vpon the people, to make them to ſee and knowe their ſinnes.

But it is good to ſee vice, to finde fault with vice, to ſee ſinne, to repꝛoue ſinne, and to ſee imperfection, to beare witneſſe of the ſame imperfection in another.

Could they now but conſider, that it is their owne miſdemeaners that dꝛaweth on theſe warres, by their entertaining of Ieſuites, Seminaries, Fryers, and Maſſing-Pꝛieſts, their receiuing of them into their houſes, reheuing and maintaining of them againſt the pꝛoceedings of the Pꝛince, and to thinke of their owne diſloyaltie and diſobedience, in harbouring thoſe that are the very fire-dꝛandes of rebellions, the ſtirrers vp of commotions, the very inſtruments of ſedition, to ſeduce and ſet ſubiects in Armes againſt their Soueraigne: if they could duly conſider of this, ſome of them would rather bluſh, then complaine, and might rather loke foꝛ a due deſerued puniſhment foꝛ their diſloyaltie and contempt, then hope to be relieued in that which cannot be redꝛeſſed, till they reforme themſelues to an vnfained ſubiection, and a moꝛe dutifull loue and obedience to their Pꝛince.

Pill. I haue heard that in the beginning of Sir William Druries gouernment of that Countrey (which was some 25. yeres ſithens, oꝛ there abouts) the whole Gariſon of ỹ Realme was not aboue 400. foote, and 200. hoꝛſe, (beſides the wardes of ſome fewe Caſtles) the Countrey could not then be greatly oppreſſed by Souldiers: and I haue heard it further repoꝛted, that if one thouſand of our Nation had beene dꝛawne altogether into a ſtrength, that all the rebels of Ireland durſt not to haue incountered them in any indifferent ground.

The caſe is altered howſoeuer it happeneth, and it ſhould ſeeme that either the Iriſh are become moꝛe hardie, oꝛ we haue

loſt our wonted Courage, for nowe of late we haue bene driuen to imploye farre greater numbers, and all little enough ſo farre as I can perceiue, and ſometimes with the leaſte to performe but what were requiſite.

Skill. It would ſeeme that our progenitours many yeares agoe, ſtood in ſome feare of that which is now come to paſſe, and knowing the inclinatiō of the Iriſh, how readie they were to runne into rebellion, and how deſirous to ſhake off the Engliſh government, to preuent thoſe meanes that might further their rebellious pretences, they eſtabliſhed certain decrées, cōming them by act of Parliament, amongſt manie other that were inſtituted for that purpoſe, it was ordeined that no man of the Iriſh birth ſhould haue charge or cuſtodie of anie Caſtle or place fortefied belonging to the Prince: nor that anie Captaine ſhould reteine aboue three Iriſh men at the moſt in his companie of one hundred, and theſe to be admitted but as ſpies or guides to paſſe through the country.

There were manie other lawes made, prohibiting the Iriſh from certaine principall offices, and in like maner prohibiting the Engliſh from marrying foſtering & combining with the Iriſh.

Whilſt theſe prohibitions were carefully obſerued in the countrie, they were not able to raiſe anie great rebellion, but that might haue bene ſuppreſſed with a ſmall number of men, and with no great charge to the Prince.

But after theſe good conſtitutions were neglected, and that euerie Captaine was at libertie to reteine as he liſted, and for his owne gaine to conuert his companie that ſhould haue bene all Engliſh into three parts and more of the Iriſh, and when whole companies of the Iriſh were erected, I will not ſay the moſt of them ſent from the rebels themſelues, but of purpoſe to betray, but by this meanes the whole rable of raſcals were armed, trained, diſciplined, and made apt and fit for any rebellion: and by theſe meanes the number of the rebels dailie increaſed, that were ſtill armed and weaponed at the Princes charge.

I will not speake of the seuerall reasons and practises frō time to time by them perfourmed, but this is not to be forgotten, that the Irish themselues finding how slily they had deceiued vs in hoping of any assistance in their seruice, would merily demaund, When it was euer heard on, that one Wolfe would pray vpon another.

Pill. Will you giue me leaue Captaine Skill, but to deliuer a matter of my knowledge?

There is an olde Irish practise, that since I haue known Ireland, hath cost our late gracious Quéene more money then would well haue serued to haue conquered three Irelands: and this ariseth likewise by the ouermuch trust and confidence that is had in the Irish: and it is the chiefe Anker that they all trust vnto, for when all hopes do faile them, this they are sure will neuer deceiue.

The matter is, when they haue plaid the traitors, and haue stood out in open rebellion, and that they haue béene pursued with great expence of treasure, and haue béene brought (as it were) to the last gaspe, not longer able to endure, then to take breath, and to supply themselues againe with their further practises, they pretend humilitie, and they will make choyce of some speciall man sometimes perhaps of some great Councellor of that Realme, or of some other great Commaunder of that part of the country, where themselues are abiding: but such a one they will still make choyce on, as they will bée sure shall be well befriended, as well at the Councell Table of Ireland, as otherwise in the Court of England: To him they will pretend great submission.

They will desire him to be a meane for a pardon, they will make great offers and protestations of their future fidelitie, they will say they will deserue, and they will put in pledges for securitie: perhaps they will giue their Procurador, a score of Béeues, or a brace of faire Horse.

This Councellor, or Commaunder, or whosoeuer looking into his owne lands, & séeing them euery day wasted (or at the least in danger to be spoiled) by this traitor ỹ now craueth his assistāce, is glad to imbrace his frēdship, together with his sute,

and howsoeuer he thinketh the Rebell will holde promise with the Prince, he is sure in the meane time his tenants and himselfe shal be spared from spoile.

Heere he calleth to minde againe how acceptable a péece of seruice it is accounted to bring in a Traytor, how much it will redounde to his reputation, when it shal be reported what a notable rebell hee hath brought in, how highlie it shall aduance his credit, and how his friends in the Courte of England shall reioyce and glorifie his seruice, commending it to the eares of his Soueraigne Prince, whome they haue made beleeue what a sparing it shoulde bée as well of monie as of manie mens liues, that the Traytor shoulde thus be receiued to giue the matter the better grace, they wil tell what wonderful seruice by his meanes might after bée performed, and how manye ill disposed persons will bee dismaied and terrified vpon his comming in.

There is no opportunitie left, nor no labour be spared till a pardon be purchased, which being once attained, the Traitor is brought in, and where in his action of rebellion, he was able to furnish the field, with foure hundred, six hundred, or a thousand traitors, he is not now able to serue his Prince with six true men: but he serueth his purpose, and watching his time, goeth out againe, and will after be three times more chargeable then he was before.

These be no nouelties, nor no rare and dainty matters to be found, when there be an infinit number of presidents, that might be inferd, how our gratious Queene by this meanes hath bene abused.

Skill. There is no néede to conceale these things in secret, because they are already to openlie knowne, many other matters there be concerning the former affaires in that Countrie, that are rather priuatly to be considered of, then publiquely discoursed, the which because they are not for me to looke into, I will therefore leaue them to those that are quicker sighted.

Pill. By this I perceiue, it is better for wayfaring men to to tread those tracts already troden out to their hands, then to sticke vnknowne waies, that may perhaps sometime lead them astray,

affray, or at the least, lead them the farthest way about: for if those presidents by you rehearsed, left by predecessours, had bene as carefully observed, as they were wisely prescribed, the rebellious sort of the Irish, had not bene so wel inabled to haue maintained their rebellions: and now I see how that which was attributed to the exceeding wisdome, policy, & valiance of the Irish, might rather be imputed to our oversight, when they strengthened themselues rather by our sufferance, then by their owne wit and worthinesse.

Skill. For the wisdome and policy that hath bene noted in the Irish I must not speake of, & the best commendations that I can giue is this: they haue bene beholding to their English friends, it is not the Irish, but the English with the Irish hearts that hath vndone Ireland: let the rest passe, and let vs render him his due that hath merited more honour then my pen can expresse: the noble Earle, the now Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, whose wisdome ioyned with magnanimitie, hath not onely repulsed the Spaniard, and freed that estate from Spanish practises, but hath likewise so qualified & quieted the desperate condition of that decaied Common-wealth (almost past hope of recouerie, that he hath thereby aduanced his honour to posteritie, in farre greater measure then I am able to set downe: I can therefore but wishe all happinesse to himselfe, and good successe to his honourable proceedings.

And now to speake a little of that Valiance so imputed to the Irish, when doe they shew it, or where doe they performe it but in a Bogge: in a pace, or in some other ground of aduantage, where they are sure our horsemen shal neither charge nor chace them, and where, if our footmen doe presse them with good conduct, they can retire themselues by their fast footemanship without any danger.

This is it that maketh them hardy, but vppon an equall ground that yeeldeth no other aduantage then the vertue and valiance of him that doth commaunde, and where horsemen and footemen may doe their indeuors and be brought to serue, the Irish are as timerous as any other nation: neither is there

a people in any place where I haue bene, that will soner truſt to their heeles then they.

Pill. It may be the Iriſh are the more ready to runne, knowing their owne derterite and abilitie to perſorme it: but let vs leaue Ireland, and ſpeake of Valiance truly what it is, as we haue alreadie done with Iuſtice, Experience, and Policie, and how it is or may be behouefull for a Generall or Captaine.

Skill. Valiance is a vertue without the which our liues are of ſmall value, but the ſame being deſtitute of Iuſtice, is hurtfull to the good: If Temperance doe not moderate hir, ſhe will turne into rage, and being not guided by Experience and Skill, wil labour out of reaſon.

Pill. Some will not hold him to be Valiant, that is not too venterous, and they wil account of him to be but a baſtard, that is not deſperate.

Skil. True Valiance (indeed) is many times counterfeited, ſometimes for feare of puniſhment, ſometimes vpon wrath, ſometimes vpon ignorance not forſeeing perrill, wil runne on as a blind man in a daungerous paſſage.

Ariſtotle would in no wiſe admit that Diomides ſhould be accounted either Valiant or wiſe, for that when the Grekes were put to flight, he remained alone, and aduentured himſelfe againſt the Force of Hector, which he did rather to ſeeke the vaine praiſe of the people, becauſe he would not be accounted a runne away, then for the true and ſouereigne good, wherein conſiſteth the end of vertue.

The like he iudged of Hector himſelfe, who many times beholding his wife and other women vppon the walles of Troy, would more boldly and courageouſly aduenture himſelfe, rather fearing ſome vnte thoſe women might haue raiſed ſounding to his diſhonour, then otherwiſe he did reſpect the Iuſtice of his cauſe, or the generall good of the City ſo diſtreſſed by the Grekes.

Here is now a matter worthy the noting, that Ariſtotle being but a Heathen, would not admitte of this vaine oſtentation, and as he had not the true knowledge of God, ſo he

he could not looke into the soueraigntie of vertue with a right respect: for those great Philosophers, that were accounted the wise men of the worlde, who onely but for the winde of the world, could despise and contemne the vanities of the worlde, they that could weepe when they were borne laugh when they died, and all that they might appeare to be constant, but to whom, euen to this vnconstant world.

Now for those that are better instructed in the knowledge of God, they are to aime their actions at an other mark, they must looke after the substance & not after the shadow, they may well consider that true christian valiance neuer opposeth it self without the feare of God, it neuer fighteth for vaine glory, nor greedie desire, but for equity and iustice, & for the cõmon & generall good: it neuer aduentureth rashly or vnaduisedly against reaſõ, but with iudgement & deepe foresight; for courage without conscience, is like the Pharises fast, and he that wil fight desperatly without Experience, may wel be called an angrie foole, but neuer a valiant soule.

Pill. I neuer heard a soule reputed to be valiant, & yet I haue knowne some not greatly ouerburthened with wit, that were rash & hardy enough: but I perceiue þ euerie bold bayard is not valiant, & how that courage which is forward to danger without iudgement, may rather beare the name of lewd hardines, then of manlinesse.

Skill. Plutarche maketh the distinction, for he saieth, that all valiant men are hardie, but all hardie men are not valiant, as those that wil oppose themselues into perill, sometimes without iudgement.

To conclude, he cannot be said to be Valiaunt, that is not strengthened by the goodnesse of this cause, and fortified against by his owne skill and knowledge: but he that is thus armed, he sheweth himselfe resolute, and without feare in the middest of the greatest perrils: yea in the verie daunger of death it selfe: and although he be at any time oppressed with an impossibility of being victorious, yet to shunne and eschew desperation, he betaketh himself to patience, which so mightily defendeth him, þ with great difficultie he may be ouercõe, but neuer cõquered.

Pill.

Pill. Patience is but a drie plaister, but it is a tried medicine, for it armeth men to the proofe against al the assaults of Fortune: and I thinke that courage which at the point of death it selfe, sheweth no discontentment, nor signe, nor shewe of griefe, may well be imputed to constancy, and why not to Valiance?

Skill. Those whome Fortune hath throwne downe, being spoyled and bereaued of solace and contentment, if in extreame desperation they make light account of death, there is in them yet a certaine assurance of dastardly Cowardise, because they hasten their dying day, not so much for shewing their Constancy, as for auoyding of miserie, as may thus bee expressed.

In Fortunes high disgrace, each wight may death disdaine,
But he most valiant is, that can in wretched state remaine.

Pill. By this now it doth appeare, that although Valiance be a speciall ornament for a Captaine, yet it marcheth but in the Rereward, preferring the other two before him as more worthy, I meane Experience and Policie: and I see it is not ynough for the valiant man, to doe what he can, but he must likewise take heede, that he attempt nothing, but what he ought: and therefore without Experience, he should runne into many errours, and wanting Policy, hee should likewise want meanes to execute: but I wonder what Souldiers haue to doe with Mercy, which you say is required in a Generall? I remember the Germanes will néeds haue it confirmed, that there are three notable soles in the world. The first, an honest Dice-player: the second, a mercifull Souldier: the third, I thinke be a Vintner, that will sell wine without water. But for a Souldier that must be tied to Experience, Policie, and Valiance, and all but to reuenge, what hath he to doe with Mercy? or how can Mercie and Reuenge draw both in one yoke?

Skill. As Iustice without temperance is reputed cruelty, so Magnanimitie without Mercy, is accounted Tyranny.

This

This goddes is milde, gentle, & gratious, and there is nothing wherein mortall men may so nerely resemble the diuine nature, as in shewing of mercie, and in giuing of life and safetie: to shew compleration to the distressed, who in their sorrowes haue no other recourse then to sighes & sobbes which ascende vnto the presence of God, where they are most fauourably receiued: and what can men doe to shewe themselues more like Gods vpon the earth, then in bestowing of this blessing, to giue pardon and life?

Pill. But this is fitter for Magistrates heere at home, and to such as should receiue the petitions and complaintes of the poore, but what is this to souldiers whē they are in the field in the presence of their enemies?

Skil. The incounter then must be pursued with courage, but the victorie must be vsed with mercie.

The Lacedemonians vsed before they entered battell, to make solemne sacrifice to the Muses, to the end they might by them attaine, aswell how to vse victorie gentilly, as of Mars to become victors manfullie: and Mercie carries not that grace and comelinesse in anie other person, as it doth in a mightie Conquerour, or a great Commander, because they haue more occasion to vse and exercise it, and it manifesteth it selfe most of all, where it hath most matter to worke vpon.

Pill. Pittie without equitie is plaine partialitie, and Mercie out of time & season, or leaning ouermuch to lenitie, hath more resemblance to foolish Pittie.

But Policie sometimes excludeth both Mercie and Pitie, as the Greeks, who after the destruction of Troy, slue Astianax the sonne of Hector, fearing if he had liued he might haue sought reuenge.

It must therefore be a great vertue, and especially in a Captaine, to be both mercifull and wise together.

Skil. Mercie is then a speciall ornament if vsed in reason, and as the pleasure of Reuenge, doth suddainlie passe & vanish away, so the contentment of Mercie doth for euermore indure.

Alexander was more famed for the clemencie he vsed to his enemies, then by all the victories he otherwise obtained: neither did he repent him of the pardon he gaue to

Diomides (though a tyrant) nor Marcus Antonius of the fauour he shewed to the great King Herod.

It is a common thing to pardon light and small offences, but to remit faults of great importance, belongeth onely to the magnificent minde: and as much impossible for a noble hart to be cruell, as it is for a cruell hart to be couragious.

A mercifull and a milde authoritie, bringeth that to passe, which a violent force is not able to do: and a gentle intreaty is many times of greater efficacie, then an Imperious commaund.

Mercie doth not only make men more honest, but more assured: and there is neither Sentinel nor Corpes de Guard, planted in euery quarter, may be so safe a defence, as the good will and loue, that is obtained by Mercy: for Squadrons may be corrupted by force or fraude, but this Castle is vnpregnable, and needeth no other fortification: it carries with it such a sweetnesse and content, and it drawes after it mens affections in such sort, that a kingdome is better preserued by it, then by an Armie.

Pill. Then we may haue the lesse nede of Souldiers now at this present: but yet as we haue already spoken of the Generall himselfe, and of those things appertaining to his place, so let vs now speake something of the ordinarie Souldier, and of his reputation, what it is, or should be. Now if you please Captaine Skill, to make definition of a Souldier, and how he should be accomplished, being in that prime and full perfection as he ought, I will aduenture my selfe to say what they are, and to what condition they are growne vnto now at this present.

Skill. Then to speake of a Souldier as I would haue him, I will spend a great deale of spirit, amongst the good spirits of these times, not of that spirit that makes a winter billowe to breake vpon it selfe, but of that spirite which like a Martyrs fire, burnes by a bodie to quicken many spirits.

I make my tongue mine eyes Oracle, I chalenge time to be

be my tongues instance; I will speake of pure love in weake oratory: I will shew, though not a Philosopher to define, yet a Souldier to execute.

When what inferre I, but this: I will speake of a Souldier, shall I search him as Diogenes did a man with a Candle at noone day? no, I will finde him with Scipio, with a sword at midnight: I will define him as I prove him: describe him as I wish him, and wish him such in his life, as I would be in my death.

Execution craves hazard, and they that attempt much, expect resist: resist attaines an opposite, an opposite overthrowe.

To make a Victor tryumph, is to inferre a Conquered: to be conquered and not dye, is to bee disgraced and yet live: to conquer and not dye, is to buy Eternitie with little price.

Out of these conclusions chose I a Souldier, as the Stoicks do their Wise men, in that (as they vainly imagine) can no wayes erre.

I knowe him to be created to execute honourably, and to be prepared for death: since he liveth still marching forth to seeke it: to hate subiection more then he feareth death, and to conjecture the honour of his calling, by the consequence of that he undertaketh.

For what is the effect of a Souldiers life? to undertake the defence of Religion, to fight for his Prince, to withstand the hazards of his Countrey, to repulse those that would depresse the same, to protect his friends and family.

It followeth then, that as none but the Vestall Virgins were suffered to kindle the sacred fire, neither any other admitted to sacrifice to Iupiter, but such as were his Priests, and were honoured for puritie of life: so none should be admitted to the honour or title of a Souldier, except his Conscience were answerable to his cause, and his life as honest, as the quarrell he undertaketh is waighty and good.

I account not him for a Souldier, that like a Nazaret

ret weares long lockes, that can sweare, swash and swagger, and is more noted for the brandings he brought from the Sessions, then for the woundes he received in the warres.

The Souldier I define and seeke, must accustome himselfe to enquire with the Spratans, not how many the enemies be, but where they be.

His life must be devout, his behaviour modest, his diet temperate, his most hated enemy, shamefull flight, his greatest study, to learne Agis, that he is unworthy to governe many, that hath not often and sundry times fought against many.

Such in my judgement should Souldiers be, but such (as Ciceros Orator) are easily defined, but seldome found.

Pill. And where would you seeke for him? what in Newgate?

Skill. No, I am afraid of my purse.

Pill. Will you then fetch him from Bridewell?

Skill. That were to buy a horse out of Smithfield.

Pill. How then, will you drawe him out of an Alehouse?

Skill. Mine Hostesse would chide for the reckoning.

Pill. Would you take him up as he passeth through the streetes?

Skill. That were iust to make cleane the Channell, and to carry out the filth.

In times past, he that had a Crab-tree looke, a sower countenance, and a hard fauoured visage, they would say it was a good Souldiers face: But now, they do not chuse him so much for his il-fauoured looke, as they do for his il-fauoured conditions.

What for him, that from a Psalme of mercy, is made a maintainer of Iustice, and that is redeemed from the whip, to fight for his Prince, or that is but raked up in the streetes, to undertake for his Countries defence, what policie this is, let some Philosopher decide, for my little wit is too slender to coniecture.

Pill. Let me now speake truly of Souldiers what they be: I thinke of all Occupations they be the men of the best conscience,

conſcience, for they neuer riſe nor fall with the Market, but let corne be cheape or deare, their pay is ſtill eight pence a day: let the dayes be ſhort or long, faire or fowle, hote or colde, they keepe their price, eight pence a day, no more then they had many yeares agoe, when they might haue bought more for the eight pence, then they can do now for their eighteene.

Againe, the Souldiers in theſe dayes, do neuer put out their money for vſurie, they neuer purchaſe lands nor liuings out of their neighbours hands: you ſhall not finde him in the Marchants bookes for any great ſummes, and yet if it be but for a matter of a thouſand pounds, a Souldiers word is as good as his band.

This honeſt demeanure of theirs, doth ſo priuiledge them, that after the warres ended, when they returne into their Countrey, it is in their owne choyce, whether they will begge or ſteale: if he cannot procure to be one of the Knights of Wind-ſor, he may eaſily compaſſe to be whipt about the ſtreetes at Weſtminſter.

Now of all Occupations, I would not wiſh my friendes to bind their ſonnes Apprentiſes to the Soldiers trade in theſe dayes, and yet the profeſſion hath bene accounted honourable, and it may well retaine the honour ſtill, for any thing that I know: but there is no gaine, nor great commoditie belonging to the Occupation.

Perhaps yet a man that hath honeſtly ſerued, at his returne home, may get ſome worſhipfull Gentlemans countenance, or a Noble man may now and then vouchſafe him a nodde, or a fauourable looke: And it is a goodly matter that ſame, and very acceptably receiued of many: but for my part I had rather haue a Lambes Partinance, then ſuch a Countenance: for the one may ſerue to fil the belly, and for the other, it may well feede a ſole, but I am ſure it will neuer make him fat.

I thinke in times paſt, it was as rich a boote to get ſome Noble mans countenance, as it was for Scoggin to get the Biſhops Bleſſing, that being once attained, they were both ſcarce worth a couple of pence.

Skill. But yet Captaine Pill I would not haue you to blaſpheme Souldiers, nor to let ſlip ſuch ſpeeches as might ſeeme in a ſort to deprauе Nobilitie.

Pill. I pittie the Souldier, and I reuerence and extoll honourable Nobilitie: you may ſay I ſpeake plainlie, but I proteſt I meane honeſtly, though my wordes be not imbrodered with high moralitie: I care not, if my ſpeeches be plaine and true, they ſo much the more reſemble their Syre: and for children to be like the parents, beſides the Mid-wife will giue it a bleſſing, ſo it is a ſigne they be legittimate: defects I know they cannot want, that in the procreation were bred and borne before their time: for as I was conceiued of them in an inſtant, ſo I was deliuered againe in a moment: and theſe abortiue brats, that are thus haſtilie brought into the world, though they ſeldome proue to haue anie great bigor or ſtrength, yet I hope being rightlie conſidered of, theſe will proue to bee of as honeſt and plaine dealing as their father.

Pill. Plaine dealing is a Souldiours beſt method, but you haue declaimed the Souldiours profeſſion: and what Knowledge, Art, or *Science* is it, that you would now preferre before it?

Pill. Marrie I ſay the Taylors, and of mine honeſtie (ſole that I am to ſweare) if my cenſure were demanded who I thought to be the wiſeſt men now in theſe later times, I would ſay they were Taylors: if anie man came in with his *Quare*, my *Quia* ſhould be, becauſe they make vs all ſoles, *Id eſt*, they bleſſe vs euerie day with a new bobbe, with a new ſtich, with a new cut, with a new garde, and they can deuiſe euerie day a new faſhion for a ſole.

Skill. He thinkes (Captaine Pill) you haue dealt in your diſcourſe as the woman, who going about to cure a blemiſh in one of her eies, applied ſo manie plaiſters til ſhe put them both out: and you ſeeming all this while but to ſalue ſome infirmities that haue latelie crept in amongſt ſouldier, haue at an inſtant ſo dalhed them & their profeſſion with ſuch diſgrace,

diſcretion as we haue hitherto ſpent many wordes I thinke to little purpoſe.

Pill. Wordes are but a windie chaffer, that are ſtill chopt and changed, becauſe they are good cheape, and I thinke if they were but of very little worth, we ſhould be as ſparing of them as we be of our good deedes.

Words are like Scoggins ſtaueleſſe men, that be ſtill imployed about ſtaueleſſe arrands: And we ſend wordes of many moe meſſages, then we meane to performe: words when they be ſpoken, are as they are taken, and my purpoſe hath not bene to quarrell with Souldiers: neither do I think them to be more worthy of blame, then a great many of others, that would be reputed faultleſſe: But ſeeing I am entred into a ſpeaking vaine, giue me leaue yet once again, a little to digreſſe from our martiall matters, and let me ſpend a little breath but for mine owne exerciſe, to ſpeake of ſomething, it makes no matter what.

Skill. Speake what you liſt I will giue you the hearing, and yet ſtill to chop from one matter to another, ſome will ſay is no good *Decorum*.

Pill. It makes no matter for that, let them ſay ſo ſtill, for I meane not (indeed) to follow any certain order or rule of appointed precepts, though I know curious heads will ſtande vpon Method: yet it is enough for ſouldiors if they can preferre matter: Schollers will loke after rethoricall diſcourſe, we content our ſelues with bare and naked truth.

I knowe there be manie of ſo quick a wit, and ſo liuelie a ſpirit, that they will doe wrong vnto nature, yea and to God himſelf, e they haue found out ſo many ſubtil ſubtilties, that are yet made more ſubtill, by the meanes of ſubtill handeling, that but with a little myſt of knowledge, they will peruert, and deface knowledge it ſelfe: then they are ſo fortified and garded with ſuch ſtore of diſtinctions, definitions, concluſions, propoſitions, ſo manie paraphraſes, ſo manie circumlocutions, ſo manie tranſlations, ſo many figures, and ſuch a manie of other ſtarting holes, as I think Vulcans Net that ſnarled Mars himſelfe, were not able to hold them.

Then

then what am I, whose knowledge is but ignorance, whose wit is but dull, whose minde is inmured in a durtie prison of a sensuall bodie: how would I then take vpon me (amongst the frisking wits of these our daies) to discourse of humours, to speak of fancies, and to set downe the dispositions of the foolish multitude?

If Heraclitus were now living, and should take a survey of this straight of times, I wonder with what countenance he would looke vpon vs? I verilie thinke that where he wept but by fits to see the infirmitie of those times wherein he lived, he would now shead continuall teares without stinting, to see the vnhappinesse of the time now present.

And I doubt againe, that if we had another Democrites amongst vs in England, to looke vpon the conuersation of all sortes of people, I wonder whether he would laugh for ioy in contemplating our happinesse, still squared out by the prouidence of godly Princes, or laugh to scorne the practises of the vngodlie, that are still platting and practising their owne infelicitie?

Some will say the world runnes on wheeles, and it may be it hath done so in times past: but I say now it goes on crouches, it is become Bis puer, it is waxen olde, decrepit and lame: A limping worlde God knowes, and nothing but halting betweene neighbour and neighbour, betweene friend and friend, betweene brother, and brother, and sometimes halting downeright betweene the father and the childe.

Our auncestours alas, they were but plaine dealing men, they had not the mincing complements now in vse, they knew not a Fantastick from a sole, and they were better acquainted with a Shoeing-horne, then they were with a Setting-stick.

But now I will not giue a groate for his conceipt that cannot make an Owle an Hawke, a Jack Napes a Shéepe, an old Pil-horse, a Palfrey for a man of honour, if he cannot worke wit like wax, forme it into anie impression: if he cannot poulder it, perfume it, and season it to please fancies: if he cannot Anothomize and Martyr it: and if néed require, if he cannot

not draw wit into a Quinteſſence.

Yet there be ſome others, ſo vnapt and dull, that it might be beleeued that Nature had brought them into the world but in a deſpite and mockerie: yet, if the Cowe-paſture be ſtored with much kine, and that there be a Teame or two of Oxen to plow the land, ſome ſtore of Hogges on the backſide, and that the wit will but ſerue to keepe them out of the corne, and to know when it is a good ſeaſon to ſowe Barlie, you ſhall ſee ſuch a Magnifico, when he comes to a Market-Towne, will take more ſtate vpon him, then he that ſolde a groates-worth of wit, in a pennie-worth of paper.

Now he that ſhould heare but one of theſe Hoglings at aſſemblies and meetings, how they will calculate of dearth and plentie, and for Corne, Cattell, butter, Cheeſe, and ſuch other like, they will tell you this yeare, what price it will beare the next: if a great fl oft or a ſnowe doth ſometimes happen more then ordinarie, they will by & by prognoſticate of dearth: or if it doe but raine one houre too much, or halfe an houre too little, the next market day they will raiſe the price of corne by twelue pence in a buſhell.

If theſe men did but knowe their owne vnworthineſſe, I think they would change their ſimplicitie to deſperation, and would conuert their pange of drowſie ignorance, to a quotidian fit of frenzie.

I muſt yet confeſſe they ſhowe great modeſtie, that leauing the ſtudie of wiſdome to their friends, do drawe the whole contentment from a little dust and droſſe.

It would be tedious for me to deliuer the diuerſitie in the diſpoſitions of men: we ſee one readie to die for the loue of a woman: another will ſet his wife to ſale: one would that euerie man ſhould liue of his owne: ſome other are ſo much inclined to Pitharoras ſect, that they would haue all things to be in common amongſt friends: one will boaſt with Thraſo, another will flatter with Gnato: another to make Iohn his ſonne a gentleman, will himſelfe lye like a mizer all the dates of his life: but I think that he to verifie the prouerb, Happie is the child, whoſe father goes to the diuell.

What a numberlesse companie of hunt-men are there in the world, that doe follow this chace of hunting after wealth, assisted onely by this hope, to make their sonnes gentlemen? and how easie a matter is it to be a gentleman in these daies, when there be so manie servile practises to draw in wealth, and euerie rich man may stand vpon his gentrie.

We may now put a sir-reuerence, when we speake of honestie, when Bribrie, Vsurie, Periurie, and euerie other iniquitie are honest mens trades.

And I thinke if Hell were a place of returne, and that there were anie hope of gold or gaine there to be gotten, more tripple headed dogges then one would not be able to defend the entrie.

Our auncestors hunted after honour, but we after wealth: they left themselues famed to posteritie by vertuous indeuour: & we desire to leaue some Memorandum to after ages of our being, but not for anie good deede: but as he that fired the Temple of Diana, to be inrowled with perpetuall infamie.

Some, to leaue themselues renowned to future times, doe build stately houses, the toppes elevated to the cloudes, which they haue set vp as markes of their glorie, but are the ensignes of vanitie, and the monuments of miserable iniquitie.

To this colledge doe they also appertaine, who by their life daies doe seriously inact with what pompe and glorie their funeralls shal be performed, and are more famed for a sumptious tombe erected after their death, then for anie good deede performed all the daies of their life.

Some others, for leauing there Executors to giue pennis dole after they are dead, doe hope for that deede of charitie, not onelie to be commended to posteritie, but also to obtaine a *Quietus est*, for all his former extortions, exactions, & oppressions, whatsoeuer.

Skil. Captaine *Pill*, were it not good for you now to take a little breath, and to think it better for a man to reforme his owne faults then to take exceptions at other mens.

Pill. I know there is not a more daungerous enterprise,

then

then for a man to looke into the sinnes of the mighty Gyants of the world: and I say againe, we perish, if we search out their euill, that wil wallow in wickednesse, and yet wil not be controwled.

It is now fortie yeares agoe since I was twentie yeares olde, in this meane time, I haue had some respect to obserue which way the winde hath blowne, but I could neuer learne where bare and naked Truth had cloathed Honesty in a furd gowne, nor where Wit that had indeuouced to reproue Folly, could get so much as a liuerie cloake for his better countenance.

Skill Honestie, that is of a reprehending humour, that wil be snarring at the vngodlie, shal begge his bread, and he that cannot dissemble with wicked men, alas, how can he liue in the world? not by his honestie, nor by his wit: and as for learning, he that hath but the gift of flatterie, he shal be able to confound all other knowledge, and to runne through the great affaires of the world: it is more auailable then six of the seauen liberall Sciences.

Pill. Why should the learned sort then aduenture to giue the worlde new eyes, to see into those thinges beyond the common sence of men? or why shoulde those that be watchfull, awaken the dull and blockish spirit, with sinne so lulde asleepe, that it cannot discerne the beautie of the soule? or why should they that moues the Spheares with wit, and purifies the suddie sences of the sensuall world, impart their pure to these regardlesse times?

You happie wights that haue made the worlde drunken with the pleasant Nector of your rare inuentions, horde vp. your golden gaine within your sacred breastes, let worlds bearing Asses breathe and feede on chaffe, vntéeme your busie thoughts from farther toyle, and rest your wearied Muse from this prentiship of paines, why should you taske and tire your selues to digge the mine of wit, when abiect bountie will not leuell out the labour of one happie line?

Skill. The trauell of wit findeth out and layeth open the perie secrets of nature, & where wit & knowledge do méete, the

Graces ſit inſtalled in the breſt, the Muſes ſléps in the boſom, Art pencils out his ſecrets, and Wonder buſides his monuments in the excellencie of his ſkill.

The broiles of bloodie warre leaueth nothing vndeuoured: yet muſt it leaue Knowledge, Art, and Science behind vntouched: for Warre cannot take anie ſpoile from Vertue, & when all things are cut away with the Sickle of Time, Knowledge ſtoziſheth ſo high, that Time cannot reach it.

The pennes of the learned will pearce a Souldiers coꝛſlet, and by abaſing oꝛ concealing the moſt haughtie exploites of the Magnanimious, they will eclips his gloꝛie, oꝛ leaue him to oblíuion: and againe, but with a dꝛop oꝛ two of inke, they can exalt and magnifie their friendes and fauourours (although ſometimes abeue the truth) that they will leade them famed and renowned to poſteritie.

And who is ignoꝛant of the true gloꝛie that hath béne ſtoꝛed vp by the learned in the treaſure-houſe of Letters?

Pill. It ſhould then appeare (Captaine Skill) that Knowledge, Art, and Science, are much moꝛe pꝛetious then pꝛofitable, if not, why liues the learned in ſuch perpetual waut?

Skill. Becauſe the woꝛlde loues fooles, and ſcoꝛnes the wiſe.

Pill. Indéede a foole may ſometimes ſit aboue the ſault, where he that is wiſe ſhall ſcant bée permitted at the nether end of the table: but when thal Artes pꝛeuaile and flouriſh then?

Skill. When Kings become Philoſophers againe.

Pill. That time is come, and God be thanked that hath ſent it in time: and now I perceiue what it was, that Ariſtimus being aſked why ſo few Pꝛinces in his time, did extend their liberalitie in ſuch ſparing ſoꝛt to the learned, made anſwer, becauſe their conſciences did accuſe them how vnwoꝛthie they were, of thoſe pꝛaiſes which the learned were accuſtomed to giue to Pꝛinces that were trulie vertuous, neither could they diſcerne of the excellencie of Artes, that were themſelues ſo vtterly ignoꝛant.

But

But now if the goodnesse of a Prince may promise a gratious consideration to the wel deserving: England is made happy in him, whose name is already consecrated to immortalitie, whose Magnificence equalled with Vertue, is able with Cæsar, with one hand to holde the Speare in the rest, and with the other to hold the pen: whose Imperiall seate is no lesse renowned by Mars, then beautified by the Muses.

I could wade farther, but it were better for me to conceiue in silence, then not being able to vtter, might seeme indiscrete.

I will therefore here stay my selfe, and will yet once againe conuert my speeches to speake of Partiall matter: but first Captaine Skill, for as much as you haue already defined of a Souldiour, what he should be in the prime of his perfection, if we could now finde the cause from whence it springeth, that they are so farre degenerated from this so honourable a condition, we might then with the Phisitian, first by removing the cause, bee able the more easilie to cure the sicknesse.

Skill. The propogation of Souldiers with vs here in England (thus lately growne to this basterdlie kinde) are especiallie misbegotten in their verie first choice: for in times of imploiment, when Souldiers are to be leuied and prepared, the election is made of Rogues, Runnagates, Drunkards, and all sorts of Vagabonds and disordered persons, such as are fitter to garnish a prison, then to furnish a Campe: And the authoritie of these appointments are committed to sillie Constables, or perhaps sometimes, to some Iustice of peace, as sillie and ignorant as he that is most simple: and these doe thinke they haue performed a verie wise peece of seruice, when they haue rid the countrie of this scumme of idle lotterers.

Pill. It was my fortune not manie yeares sithence to passe along the streets, where I sawe a companie of townes men, that were weaponed with olde rustie bills, who were haling and pulling of a fellow by the head and the shoulders (I had thought to some place of execution) and demanding of one of the companie what offence the fellow had committed: I was

answered, that it was an idle Rogue that had bene a runnegate about the countrey, & they had prest him for a Souldier.

But I pray (said I) doth your Commission warrant you to prest Rogues, to serue for Souldiers?

With this demaund, the Constable of the Warde began to grow very hote and angry, and he tolde me flatly, he was not ignorant how farre his Commission did extend: and as for these Rogues, Vagabonds, and other like excrements of the Common-wealth, he thought it a happie riddance to purge the Countrey of that infection, and by sending them to the warre, to keepe honester men at home in their places.

I durst not render any rough reply to the Constable, least he should complaine that I went about to disturbe him in the execution of his Office: but in a curteous maner I asked of him, that if the place where he dwelt were so distressed, that an enemie were ready to approch, to make spoyle and hauocke of their liues and goods, and to make a pray of the Citie or Towne wherein he dwelt, whether would he and the rest of the inhabitants his neighbours, retaine such men as they had prested for the seruice of their Prince, to fight in their defence, and to repose themselues in the trust of their seruice?

In faith sir no (quoth Maister Constable) for we would sooner commit them all to pris, then to put weapons into their hands, that would be more ready to take the spoyle of vs, then to hurt our enemies.

When I perceiue Maister Constable (said I) you can quickly conceiue of the good or ill that concerneth your selues, but you cannot so easily discerne of the generall good, that doth as nearely concerne your Prince and Countrey: but God blesse the place you dwell in from any such distresse as we haue spoken of, and God defend, that either the soueraigne dignitie of our gracious Prince, or the honour of our Countrey, should euer depend in the fidelitie or seruice of that rascall rabble, thus raked vp and sent to the warres.

The Constable presently chops me vp this answere: Sir, I perceiue by the sound of your words, you are a fauourite to Captaines, and I thinke you could be contented, that to serue

the

the expedition of these times, we should take vp honest house-holders, men that are of wealth and abilitie to liue at home, such as your Captaines might chop and chaunge, and make marchandise of, sometimes by retaile, sometimes by the great, (as men vse to buy Oxen in Smithfield) a whole company bought and solde together, not to him that was of best experience, but to him that would giue most money? But sir, God defend that any man of honest reputation shuld come in place to be extorted, where beside the exactions of Actuallers, they shal be infected with vnholesome and vnseasonable prouisions, oppressed by the Prouant Maister, cheated and purloyned by so many scraping Officers, as it would but breede anger to be spoken of.

Let me tell you therefore in secret, that we haue learnd of Scoggin long agoe, to seeke out sleeuelesse men, to send of sleeuelesse arrands. When the warres shall be reformed, and reduced to a more honourable course, we will endeuour our selues to finde out men of better worth, in the meane time, these may serue, as best befitting the Discipline of this age.

This open mouthed Constable put me to a Non plus, I would faine haue replied, but I wist not what, and for want of better matter, I came a little ouer him with Blurt Maister Constable.

I durst not stand vpon olde principles, what obseruation hath beene vsed by our auncestors, in the choyce of Souldiers, what regard was had to the abilitie of his bodie, to the honestie of his minde, to the place of his birth, and to what trade he had beene trained vp in: these matters I perceiue by the Cōstable, are not now in request: for in those dayes Souldiers were chosen for their vertue, but now for their vice: in that choice there was comfort, but in this there is neither honour, profit, safetie, nor hope of good successe.

Skill. Vnhappy may those warres be called where men are but sēt as it were to ẏ slaughter, too weak in nūbec, vnfurnisht, vnprouided, vnpaid, & euery way wrōged & discouraged: for this vsage, & these seruices, rogues, rūnagats & pesāts are ẏ fitst

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men to be sent: but where Princes do meane to haue their honours maintained, their Countrey defended, or their estates and persons secured, they must loke to another choyce, for in the choyce of the Souldier, consisteth the strength of the warre: and who is more fit to fight for his Countrey, then the man of most approued honesty, that hath care of his reputation, and is ashamed of villany?

But what successe may be hoped for by those warres that are supplied by men altogether Irreligious, prophane, wicked, vngracious, such as God hath not promised to bleese, but hath denounced against them his malediction and curse? O wit neglecting times, that cannot loke into this apparant ill, and cannot discerne afore hand of the inconuenience that may succéde.

Wée first presse Rogues, Drunkards, and such other ill disposed persons, which being once pressed, must be kept with continuall guard, perhaps in Bridewell, or other like places, for running away: What a heauy burthen then to the Commonwealth to Arme and appoint them fit for the field? thē being deliuered to their Captaines & Conductors, they are transported to the place of Rende vous, with as good a will, as a Beare is brought to the stake, and the time that they should spend in the practise of their weapons, they practise nothing but how to run away: so that before one moneth be fully ended, he that can shewe fiftie for his hundred, is worthy to passe the Musters for an able company.

How Generals and great Commaunders were by these meanes abused by their Muster Rowles, where they might finde for euery thousand mē, at the least two thousand names: the Commissaries, and other Officers of the Musters, (that were not corrupted by the scraping Captaine) can well ynough report: But how Princes and estates were deceiued of their pay, I may slightly passe, because (as it should appeare) the matter was but slenderly regarded: and how the Common-wealth likewise was continually charged with the leuying of supplies, that ran away againe as fast as they were sent: the matter deserueth no great consideration, when both

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citie and countrie did pay so dearely for it: as they deserued no better, that would make no better choyce.

Thus through the simplicitie of a Constable, the Princes seruice was abused, the manners and Disciplines of the auncient Militia corrupted, and the name and estimation of the noble Souldier vtterly despised.

But heere is the maine mischiefe, if necessitie should inforce to fight, what hope to confirme those fellowes with a setled resolution, to incounter a warlike enemie, when they are so readie to runne away, before euer they durst to looke foe in the face?

Will you perswade them to fight for the honour of their Countrie? why they neuer knew what honestie ment: what then, to defend their lands and liuings, why they haue nothing to lose, and lesse to care for: will you presse them with shame for being reputed Cowards: but they will neuer blush, that are not onely past shame, but also past grace; why then what lawe to enioyne them, what loue to induce them, or what gods to coniure them?

I will leaue the rest to those that are (indeede) inducious and able to discerne: but forasmuch as the souldier is the arme and strength of the warre, it shal not be altogether inconuenient, briefly to touch and slippe ouer what consideration former times haue had in their election and choyce.

The holie Scriptures themselues doth furnish vs with manie examples tending to this purpose, as when the whole Hoste of the children of Israel were vtterlie dismaied, for the multitude of their enemies, the Lord commanded Gedeon, to muster such to incounter them, as were most faithfull, & doubted nothing of his promises made vnto them, which were but three hundred in number, and were chosen by the lapping of water.

And who is so sillie as not to think, but that the antiquitie of Musters, is no lesse auncient then the antiquitie of Warres, neither hath there bene any errour more seuerely punished, then those abuses in the Training and Mustering of Souldiers.

This chopping and changing is but a late practise, and the Musters in times past, were euermore taken in the presence of men of iudgement, grauitie and wit: and amongst the Romanes, they were committed to prison, their goods confiscate and solde, that would not personallie appeare and answer to their names at any time of Musters when they were called: and to conclude, I thinke he doth but ill deserue to enioy any benefit in his country, that wil refuse to fight for the libertie and safetie of his countrie.

Pill. I may say Amen: but he that should preach this doctrine, perhaps might offend the better sort of his parishoners: but now I perceiue they be not all Souldiers that runs vp and downe the country a begging vnder Souldiers Pasports, but according to the prouerbe, Catte after kind: so these I perceiue will follow their former function, first from a Rogue to a Soldier, and from a Souldier again to a Rogue, it must needes be a wel formed Campe that is framed of such stuffe.

I wonder now what Discipline might be prescribed to containe these fellowes in order in the time of Warre, that could neuer be brought to obserue order nor honestie in the time of Peace: yet there is nothing more necessarie then order, especially in Warre, without the which all runs to confusion: but for my selfe, I think I were best to speake of order, as he that came from Church, who could say, There was a verie good sermon: and yet could neither remember the text, nor any other word that the Preacher had spoken: so say I, order is good, (if it be decent:) but many doth vse it, as they doe vse the new fashion, that doe neuer thinke themselues to be in fashion, till they be quite out of all fashion.

Skill. The auncient orders and maners left vnto vs by the great Captaines of former ages are omitted, sometimes by corruptions, sometimes by necessitie, and many times innouated by Captaines, who to shewe themselues as wise as womens Taylors, can deuise euerie day a new fashion.

This order that we speake of, is to be obserued in the field, in the Towne, in the Campe, in marching, in fighting, in charging, in retyring.

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In like maner, whether to offend or defend, there is nothing of more importance then order, when by the neglect thereof, great and mightie armies haue perished.

In the beginning, before they knew any maner of forme, or order of aray, the victorie was euermore caried away by the stronger part: but sithens they haue learned to order themselues into Rankes, and to fight in good aray, the conquest now is not so proper to the strength of men, as it is to this experimented order: neither is there any multitude (being once broken and disordered) that are able to abide a farre inferior number, that shal assaile them with order and skill.

This order therefore is to be obserued, first in distributing their whole forces into Companies, into Regiments, into Squadrons: and it is a pleasing thing, because an Armie consisting of many partes, may with the more ease be diuided and martialled fit for seruice, as occasion and neede shall require.

Prouided alwaies, ỹ the order that is to be obserued in fight, hath euermore relatiõ to the weapõs then in vse, for the alteration of weapons, doth necessarily inforce the alteratiõ of order.

Pill. That must needes stand with reason: but yet there be some not knowing this, that wil figure forth such formes of Battells, as (I think) were vsed in Alexanders time, and were fitter for the incounters of that age, then for the seruice of the time present, & this antiquitie they inferre as a matter of great importance whereby to priuiledge thẽ: but hereby they doe so much the more bewray their ignorãce, for those orders then in vse, would be altogether out of season, or to verie little purpose.

But there is a second Parodox which is now lately crept out of a budget, that doth all to be pepper this opinion, and will in no wise endure that the alteration of weapon should likewise enforce the alteration of order, and hath inferred no lesse then 30. imputations verie wisely obiected against the moderne Captaines of this age as he calleth them, for digressing from the disciplines and orders vsed by the auncient Captaines (I think he meanes in the time of King Arthur) amongst the Greekes and Romanes.

Skil. Captain Pill, I know frõ out of what books those imputatiõs were first drawne, & cã tel vpõ what splene ỹ collectiõs were

gathered, neither am I ignorant what it was that made the Author to conceale his Paradoxes, and would not suffer them to be published in print so long as he lived, and now he is deceased, it were no humanitie to cavil with men that are in their graves: he is dead, and therefore let him rest, and God send vs that be living a little more wit, then to beleeue al which that second Paradox would seeme to intimate.

But as from the beginning, the hatred and malice of men one towards another hath continually increased, so with this rage and furie, they haue not failed from time to time, to practise new inuentions whereby to kill and murther, and to this purpose they haue still deuised weapons, euerie one of more aduantage then other.

At the first before weapons were knowne, they auenged themselues with teth and naile, after they began to fight with staues and clubbes, then they found out the forging both of weapons and armours, and from age to age, new inuentions of swordes, Ianelins, billes, pikes, and other manual weapons were found out and practised by sundrie men at seuerall times, entertaining still those weapons in vse, which they found to be of greatest force and most aduantage.

Thus by peece-meals they likewise inuented sundrie parcels of armour, wherewith they armed men: then they fel to arming of Chariots, Eliphants: And Horses were likewise armed and barded till within these few yeares.

Continuance of time brought in Long bowes, Crosbowes, Slings, Brakes, Darts, and such other like, and now of late we haue changed them all for the Caliuer and Musket.

Those formes and proportions that were vsed when they had no other incounters but with mannall and short weapons (and that the hope of victorie consisted in the vigor and strength of mens armes, and in his skil that could bring most handes to fight) would be now to little purpose, when the mightiest troupes and squadrons may be soon scomfited with the furie of shotte, that they shal neuer be able to strike one stroke.

We haue therefore left those formes & battels that were then vsed, and haue retained an order perfected by time, and bettered by Experience.

For

for our ancient English weapon the Long-bow, I am sure there be many that would gladlie maintaine the excellency of them: but forasmuch as in the first discourse betweene vs, we haue sufficiently belaked of their greatest effects, we may therefore let thē pas, yet for my part I could wish they were but half so effectual as some ignorāt men would willingly perswade.

Pill. I think there is nothing wherein Fortune is more variable then in the actions of Warre, for as there is no setled forme or Discipline which is not chopped & changed in euerie age, so in field incounters, there is no hope nor certaintie, which is not quashed againe in euerie moment: and therefore Princes doe in nothing more deceiue themselues, then when they dos refuse a reasonable composition when it is offered, and relie in the hope and hazarde of a Battell.

Skill. It were good that Princes (with iustice and equitie) could keepe their owne, rather then by tyrannie to incroach of others: but in the time of Warre to neglect the prosecution of seruice by *Parlies*, by taking of *Truces*, and delaying of time, it is cloaked vnder the plausible pretence of *Pollcie*, which they cal the winning of time, when in truth they do lose both time and opportunitie.

And who be these *Politicians* that doth perswade it, but Ignorance, Fearefulnes, Couetousnes, and many times it is induced by Treason it selfe.

Vnder the colour of treatie of Peace, manie practises of hostilitie hath bene performed: and what greater errour may be committed, then to suffer an enemie to buie his owne aduantage but with a few flattering words, and then to laugh vs to scorne for our follie.

This olde Canticle, Da pacem in diebus nostris, hath sometimes bene too much imbraced, and the bare motion and sound of *Peace*, is so sweete and pleasing to the tearefull and faint harted, that to patch and peece it vp, they neglect and set aside all occasions, giuing an enemie those aduantages, that many times are not to be redeemed.

And what conditions so dishonorable and bais, but the

coueteous minded man (for ſparing of mony) will ſurrender vnto, and all to conclude a Peace more doubtful and daungerous then the bloodieſt Warre.

I will not ſay but in the time of Parlies, perſwaſion may doe much, but it is beſt then to perſwade, when there is force to commaund: for in the time of Parlies and Treaties of peace, the Conquerour and he that is of greateſt power, doth rather giue then receiue conditions.

I acknowledge, aſſured peace, is euermore to be imbraced: but theſe coloured treaties and bad aſſurances, are both daungerous and vnprofitable, and Princes haue incurred by them great loſſe, both of time and experience.

This dallying out the time of ſeruice with deluding Parlies, hath beene holden by timerous people to be verie politique, but if Miſerie be reputed for *Policie*, and ſparing out of ſeaſon be called good husbandrie, I ſay ſtill they are ill ſpared pence, that doth afterwardes coſt a great many of poundes.

I muſt not ſpeake of the delaies of our times, but if it be true, that the wit is beſt that is deareſt paid for, we might in this age bee wiſe and warie both, and learne to loke better to the market, leaſt after this, we buie our owne follie at as deare a rate, as wee haue alreadie purchaſed wit.

Pill. I know not how to value wit, nor what price it hath borne in times paſt: but if it hath bene ſo dearely bought, me thinkes they ſhould haue done well to haue ſpared ſome parte of the charge to haue paied poore Souldiers, that (God knowes) haue manie times wanted both paie and meanes whereby to maintaine themſelues in anie able ſorte to ſerue.

Skill. As the Warres cannot bee performed without Souldiers, ſo Souldiers cannot bee contained without pay: for where there is want of pay, there muſt needes be but a ſcambling warre, manie diſorders committed, and as many opportunities pretermitted.

Pill. For want of pay, the Souldier cannot bee kept from

from ſcraping, aſwell from friendes as foes: it likewiſe breedeth mutinies and all maner of diſorders, and Souldiers vnpaid, will make but a ſlowe march, maintaine but a faint fight, and it makes them ſo weake of bodie, and feeble of courage, that one thouſand of Souldiers that were dulie paid, and well prouided for, would be more profitable in the day of battell, then fiue thouſand of ſuch ſtruelings that are almoſt famiſhed aforehand, and for want of neceſſaries, are brought ſo lowe, that they are neither able to indure fight, nor yet able to runne away.

Skill. The want of mony in the time of Warre, breedeth in a Generall diſgrace, in a Souldier contempt, in the enemie occaſion of treaſon, in the confederate, a will to reuolt.

The Romans (amongſt others) maintained their Monarchies by theſe meanes, they indeuoured nothing more, then to reward good deſert: nor ſought any thing leſſe, then to defraude their ſouldiers of their pay: in peace they prouided them priuiledges, at home they allowed them colonies to dwell in, and in the waine of the Empire, ſo carefull were Monarches to requite them, that their elections did hang in their choice, and their fortunes, on their ſwords: that as one ſtudied to be liberall, ſo the other ſtroue to be loyall.

Pill) To maintaine this pay, your opinion is (as I perceiue by your former ſpeeches) that we haue not ſo much neede of mony, as we haue of good orders, to ſee them firſt ſet downe, and then well executed.

Skill. I ſay ſo ſtill: and I adde thus much farther, that if in times paſt, the corruptions of all ſorts of officers had bene examined in time, great ſummes of mony might haue bene ſpared to pay ſouldiers, that was worſe imployed, and more vnprofitably ſpent.

Pill. I know not in this caſe what I ſhould iudge: but for theſe thirty or fortie yeares I haue bene a little acquainted with the warres of ſeuerall Countries, and I neuer knew but in euery place they ſtill complained for want of pay; but to ſay the truth, our Engliſh nation, more then

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all the reſt haue euer found themſelues moſt agréeued, as wel againſt the pinching & prowling of Captaines, as againſt the cheating and ſhifting of officers: but is it not poſſible for Princes and Eſtates to finde a remedie for theſe inconueniences?

Skill. Not poſſible, ſo long as their is buying and ſelling of companies, nor ſo long as offices are to be bought and ſolde for mony.

I dare not take vpon me to aduiſe Princes whom they ſhould truſt in theſe cauſes, but with reuerence and vnder correction, I wil ſay a little whome they ſhould not truſt, and of whome they ought to beware.

Then firſt let them take héede to the Irreligious, & againe, of him that is couetous: but if they doe wiſh good ſucceſſe to their owne affaires, let them beware how they truſt him that wil buy his office, and wil giue mony to attaine his place.

I proteſt I haue not ſpoken any thing particularly, whereby to detect or impeach any perſon in priuate, but onely in commiſſeration of the poore ſouldiers, who by theſe diſorders haue bene miſerablie wronged.

And as the pay that hath bene thus ſpent, might haue bene a great deale better ſpared: ſo there is nothing more hurtful to the proceédings of Warre, then to much miſerie and pinching, where the ſpending of mony (and but in neceſſary ſort) ſhall be more reſpected, then either the loſſe of honour, or the hazard of a kingdome.

Pill. And it might be learned to be but a thréed-bare Warr, where beſides an ordinarie pay, there is not likewiſe an extraordinary recompence, whereby to gratifie deſert.

Skill. Where well doing is not regarded, there dutie is many times neglected: and although the law doe inforce ſome, and neceſſitie prick forwards others to the ſeruice of their countrie, yet Rewarde and Recompence are more effectuall to induce a noble courage, then any other meane: for men hardly entertaine hazard where there is no hope, and great mindes that wil aſpire to great aduentures, muſt be recompenced with great rewardes.

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But would you haue examples, how good desert hath bene aduãced: looke into the holy scriptures, for the noble Caleb promised his reward by Gods owne mouth. for his great courage and constancie amongst the children of Israel, and Caleb himselfe bestowed his faire daughter Achsah vpon Othniell his brothers sonne, for taking the Citie Cariath.

Dauid in like maner receiued great riches of *Saul*, for killing Goliath: but the Romanes amongst the rest, to stirre vp mens mindes to martiall prowes, besides bountifull and liberall rewardes, they inuented glorious triumphes, whereby he that deserued Fame, might for euer after be eternized.

In those dates honours and the highest places were rewards for valiant men, and good desert was recompenced with great preferment: now there is no reward but for dillanie, for betraying of a Towne, for poisoning of a Prince, for practising of treason, or for some other like conspiracie.

Now for him that lines within the compasse of an honest life, they think his wit wil affoorde him no better: & as there is no reward for the couragious, so there is no punishmẽt for ỹ coward.

In diebus illis, after victories obtained & troubles ouer-past, then began the Souldiers glorie, for then good deserts were euer recompenced: so that the end of the war, was the beginning of the Souldiers felicitie, but now the end of the warre is the beginning of his beggery, and an almes is the best recompence for the best desert.

When Glorie was the reward of Vertue, men would then contend who should most excede in Vertue, but now sithence that hope hath bene quenched, they striue who should be most insolent, for where Glorie is taken from Vertue, there Vertue is likewise taken from men.

Pill. There is yet a comfort left to those that haue honestlie serued the Countrie, when they may say that there best recompence is, the testimony of a good conscience, and the contentment of an honest minde.

Skill. The testimonie of a good conscience is better then a thousand witnesses, and he that hath a contented minde, hath greater treasure then Fortune is able to depriue: for what aduersitie can check him that is armed with contentment?

Pill. Contentment is the marke we all shoote at, but who could euer hit it? Salomon sought seriously after it, but he could not finde it: the wise men of the world, haue hunted after it in the world, and although they haue sometimes had it in chase, baiting themselues with a present satisfaction for a time, yet our affections are so variable, that more changeable then the Moone, we erect euerie day a new choyce, loathing that to morrow, that we liked of to day.

Skill. Where then shall we seeke for that soueraigne contentment by vs so much desired? if not in this world, why then by a tract more excellent and diuine then Reason it selfe is able to reach vnto.

Pill. There are yet many reasons whereby to maintaine that soueraigntie of contentment, which to those that are earthly minded may seeme vnpleasant, but to a soule once setled in contemplation, they are the ministers of meere Diuinitie.

Skill. Who liueth heere in that content, liues happilie, for he sequesters his wandering thoughts from the vanitie of the world, and so tempers all his spirits, that he wholie resignes himselfe to meditation.

O precious freedome of the minde that thus tunes his fancies on the Lydian Harpe! he may with Theseus take hold on the Clue, that leadeth from the Labyrinth of worldly vanities, for he so frees himselfe from the freakes of fortune, that as the seaman with his Iacobs staffe, doth count the ascending and descending of the Sunne, so he beholds al the choaking chances of the ambitious world, sometimes climing vp, againe declining downe.

If his meanes will not serue to mount, so he cannot lightly fall, for Flatterie cānot blast him with his breath, nor Aspelike Enuie stinges him not asleepe: heere the Traitors armed hand affrightes him not, nor Sinons fugered teares are able to deceiue: but Magnitude with a perfect courage of a constant minde attends and waites on him, and thus retirde from all his worldly cares, he reapes the fruite of sweete and quiet rest.

Pill. O happie he that leuels out his life by this line, for a soule thus armed with this coate-armour, is able to wade through al the streames of trouble, & fixing his anker hope in the inuio-

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late constancie of a minde thus setled, what can dismay or affright him?

Death it selfe is here despised, and although the verie name be hideous and terrible to fooles, beating in the eares of the idle and slouthfull, yet here it cannot hurt.

But what obiect? Death, or why should I speake of a buriall, shall we doubt of that which is naturall, and for the which we were borne? O how vnfortunate might he be accounted that is loath to returne to his countrie of rest.

Skill. When to winde vp our conclusion, and to make an end of our conference at this time, I will speake a little of life and death as they should be esteemed: for if we could duelie consider of the good that cõmeth vnto vs by death, it would appeare that the whole Tragedie of the euils of this life is there finished, and that the sting of Death, is but the beginning of life.

Pill. Your conclusion will be both apt, and to a very good purpose: but first I will conclude with many thankes for this your vndeserued curtesie: and because I will not longer interrupt you, I will now rest attentiue.

Skill. Since life is the race, wherein we striue to obtaine honour, and death is the tearme whereby our honours are crowned, I will speake of life as it should be conformed to vertue, and of death as the true gate of felicitie.

Life (saieth the Philosopher) is but a borrowed dreame of pleasure, wherein we apprehend all things incertainly, by reason of the swift and irrecouerable chaunges thereof.

It is a race wherein the wicked man lieketh to ouerthrowe the good, and the good man that standeth on his feete, will not helpe the good man that lieth on the ground.

It is a vision of delight that vanisheth in imagination, a warfare of vncertaintie, and a way to death.

In life there is no distinction either of greatnes or abiectnes, for the begger in life, hath as great interest as the King.

It is only the way wherein we walk crowned with honour to our graue, or buried in infamies to seeke out eternall death.

Wretched is that life, which hath but a name to liue, and that in death, a life without the which death had not beene.

Briefly to expresse how abiect a thing life is, let that saying

of Philip of Macedon serue to [illegible] a fit place to incampe in, but [illegible] then any other: How miserable (saith he) is our [illegible] inforced to bestow the best opportunities of the [illegible] seruice of Asses?

It is like a Pageant or Stage, whereon all [illegible] thēselues, that chalengeth nothing frō eternitie, but the fruits of good imploimēts. The hazard of life is determined by ẏ iustice of ẏ cause, & it is neuer more happy, thē whē lost worthily.

The shortnesse thereof is redeemed by the vse, for Life well imploied is a preuention of Death.

As for Death, what is it but a blessed necessitie to the good man, and a fearefull enemie to the euill?

There is nothing more certaine to flesh & blood, thē Death, & nothing more fearful to fooles, then to thinke they must die, when it is but a passage to a better life: And how happy is that death, which leadeth to that life, which is not subiect to death?

It is a seperation from an vncertaine to an assured estate, a retrait wherein Honour liueth, and obscuritie sleepeth: A Harbinger, assigning rest without payment, A Gate, to that felicitie the soule longeth for.

For which cause Æschilus calleth it the remedy of worldly sorrow, wherein we escape that which life feared, and winne that, which a quickning faith hopeth for.

Since therefore, Life is but a sum of money put out to vse, and our iudgements and honours are assigned vs, as we imploy the same, & death is but the fire to try our deserts, whether they were born to obscuritie, or reserued for eternitie, let Souldiers liue so, as when the casualties of warre shall allot them death, they may be held good stewards of this betrusted and vncertain treasure, that like good children being nourished in all dutie, by their mother the Common-wealth, they may dye with cōstancy in the defence therof: that as earst the Spartan women, so their mothers may say in their deaths, We bare them for their country, and we haue happily lost them for their country. Or rather thus with Critias, He rather pleaseth me more that he died a death, both worthy his friends and country, thē that he should haue liued a life vnworthy both his friends and country.

FINIS.

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